1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Introduction

121 IN September, 1948, I was appointed to undertake anthropological research in Sarawak under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council. The Secretary of the Colonial Social Science Research Council laid down as follows the nature of my research work: "a study of a traditionally based, stable, Iban community based on shifting dry rice cultivation and not subject to undue land shortage . . . . as described in 'A Report on the Possibilities of a Social Economic Survey of Sarawak,' by Dr. E. R. Leach".[1]

114 I arrived in Sarawak in January, 1949, and remained in the Colony until June, 1951. For most of this period I was working among the Iban of the Baleh region of the Kapit District of the Third Division. Our base camp was at Rumah Nyala in Sungai Sut, but field research was carried on in many other parts of the Baleh region—particularly in the headwaters of the Mujong. Visits were also made to Iban communities of the lower, middle and upper Rejang, the Katibas and Ngemah (in the Third Division), and of the Saribas and Ulu Batang Ai (in the Second Division). In studying agriculture many months were spent living on Iban farms, and this report is based on intensive first-hand observation; all of my investigations were carried on in the Iban language.

144 The Iban (or Sea Dayaks) belong to an ethnic stock which Haddon has called
141 Proto-Malay. In brief, they are a brachycephalic people (average C. I. 83) of
142 short stature (average height 5ft. 2½ins.), with black, lank hair and cinnamon
197 coloured skin. Iban culture is basically proto-Malayan in type. Howell, our greatest authority on the Iban language, had no hesitation in classing it as "a dialect of the wide spreading Malay language." However, it is a dialect which has become intermixed with words borrowed from the various Borneo tribes with which the Iban have come into contact. Again, the Iban language, although it does contain a number of words that are Sanskrit in origin, has not been influenced by Arabic as have the languages of the peninsular Malays and the Menangkabau of Sumatra.

161 In Sarawak to-day, the Iban are the predominant element in a highly hetero-
162 geneous population. The total population of Sarawak as disclosed by the census of 1947 was 546,385, and of this number 190,326 (or 34·8%) were Iban. The past century has been for the Iban an era of expansion and they are now scattered over most of the interior zone of Sarawak—from the Samarahan river in the First Division to the Limbang river in the Fifth Division, about four hundred miles away to the north-east. However, the main concentrations of Iban population are to be found in the Second and Third Divisions.

214 Formerly, all of the Iban of Sarawak were shifting cultivators growing their
177 *padi* on hillside clearings in the tropical rain-forest. To-day, there are a number of Iban communities (particularly in the lower reaches of the Lupar, Saribas and Rejang rivers) who derive their livelihood from the cultivation of wet *padi* in

[1]Leach, E. R., "Social Science Research in Sarawak," Colonial Research Studies No. 1, London, 1950.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

riverain and deltaic swamps into which they moved following the establishment of Brooke rule. Some of these down-river communities have been subjected to prolonged European contact which has profoundly modified their way of life. However, the majority of the Iban still live from fifty to a hundred miles from the coast in hilly country that is drained by fast-flowing rivers. Most of these hill tribes have been little influenced by the West and remain pagan and pre-literate. It is with these Iban of the hinterland that this report is chiefly concerned.

This report then, is primarily an account of Iban methods of shifting dry rice cultivation in pioneer areas. It is important to note that it deals—in particular—with conditions existing in the Baleh, and with the social behaviour and customs of the Ulu Ai Iban inhabiting this region. This means that proper safeguards must be observed before applying any of the findings of this report to other Iban areas. Nevertheless, the systems it describes are generally typical of most pioneer areas (i.e. areas where virgin jungle is still being felled and farmed), and probably of about fifty to sixty per cent of the Iban population of Sarawak.

Iban agriculture and Iban methods of land utilization can only be understood in relation to the various corporate groups that characterize Iban society. For this reason this report begins with a brief account of the principal features of Iban social organization. However, these introductory paragraphs are no more than the most summary of prolegomena to the sections dealing with agriculture and land usage that follow. A comprehensive analysis of Iban social structure is being prepared for publication.

Again, because of limitations of space, only passing reference has been made to the elaborate *padi* cult upon which Iban agriculture is based. Upon this fascinating and important subject I was able to collect a great mass of material and it is my intention to discuss it fully in a separate monograph, which will stand as a companion study to the present report. As Haddon truthfully observed: "It is characteristic of the Iban . . . . that the whole of their life is permeated with religious conceptions, and indeed no distinction can be drawn in their daily life between technical and religious operations: they are equally necessary." Certainly, it is only when the inter-dependence of economics, social organization and ritual is understood that there can be any genuine appreciation of the nature of Iban agricultural practice.

This report is concerned with a single aspect of Iban life: their system of agriculture. This was, of course, but one of the many topics studied during the period of my field work and in due course papers and monographs on many other facets of Iban society and culture will be prepared for publication.

I would like to express my appreciation of the many ways in which the Government of Sarawak facilitated my research work, and I am especially grateful to His Excellency, Sir Anthony Abell, K.C.M.G., for his action in approving an extension of my tour so that I might complete certain studies of Iban religion and pay brief visits to parts of the Second Division.

It is difficult to speak too highly of the hospitality and assistance given to both my wife and myself during our stay in Sarawak. In particular our gratitude is due to: Mr. and Mrs. B. Baughman (Methodist Mission, Kapit), Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Drake-Brockman (D.O., Kanowit), Mr. T. Harrisson, Mr. R. W. R. Miller (Director of Agriculture), Mr. and Mrs. W. Nias (N.O., Sibu and Betong), Mr. A. J. N. Richards, Mr. P. Ringkai, Mr. P. Smith (D.O., Kapit), Mr. I. A. N.

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
OC6 Iban OC6

No. II **THE SEA DYAK RELIGION.**

By the Revd. Wm. Howell.

The religion of the Sea Dyaks is a combination of superstitions, complicated and indefinite. It is based upon the belief in the plurality of deities. The deities, according to their opinion, are not only corporeal, possessing bodies as well as souls, but beget sons and daughters; they are in no way short of humanity. To verify the divinity of their deities, Dyaks affirm that they are able to work miracles, and also that they can metamorphose themselves.

The Sea Dyaks call their deities *Petara*, which appellation is no doubt a borrowed one. The explanation of Archdeacon Perham shows very clearly that the word *Petara* is none other than the Hindoo *Avatara*, the incarnations of *Vishnu*—the difference of spelling being accounted for by the fact that the Dyaks never sound *v* but use *p* or *b* instead. Again, in an invocation to Pulang Gana occur the names Ini Inda and Rajah Jewata which are similar to Indra and Dewata. It is also a peculiarity of the Dyaks to shorten words and pronounce them according to their taste, especially if they are foreign words.

The importation of the word *Petara* into the language helps to corroborate the statement that the Sea Dyaks once lived in the Malayan Peninsula prior to their migration into this island. It also corroborates the fact of the existence of the Majapait rule once upon a time in some parts of the Malayan Peninsula.

The principal deities of the Dyaks are Singalang Burong, Pulang Gana, Selampandai, Kling, and Kumang. All these are connected with mythical incidents handed down by traditions relating when they first revealed themselves to the Dyaks as deities.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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have been able to learn, not nearly so much so as amongst the land Dyaks, and never so much but that the tribes belonging to this division, situated most distant from each other, are prevented from the most free communication. This greater similarity of dialect amongst these many villages, than prevails amongst the land tribes, may easily be accounted for, by the greater friendship and intercourse which has subsisted perhaps from the time of their separating from each other: as far as is known, at no period of their history were they ever at war with each other, but were always the foes of the Kyans and land Dyaks in their vicinity; the land tribes, on the contrary, appear always to have been at war with all the tribes in their neighbourhood, which, though perhaps they did not cause the yearly average of a single death, effectually prevented all friendly communication.

The religious observances of these people are very little known, but in their state of civilization it cannot be supposed to extend beyond a few superstitions and belief in spirits of woods and mountains; their chief deity is called Batara, a pure Sanscrit term for God, but this appears to be the only relic left them of their former intercourse with the Javan Hindus, who seem never to have possessed so much influence over the sea Dyaks as over the land tribes, none of the peculiar Hindu customs of these latter obtaining among them. The doctor and priest of the village, who is termed manang, is a very curious and mys-

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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head of the Rajah of Sarawak, and annihilating his settlement. A stage for drying the much coveted head has been accordingly erected, and one of their rare and much valued jars has been prepared for its reception.

At the attack on the Balow village, in the height of their excitement, Bulan is reported, with others, to have called out to the assailed, that his only wish was that a steam-ship, of which in reality they have the greatest possible dread, might heave in sight, as he would then have the pleasure of showing the Balow people how he would treat their friends, the English, previously to taking their own heads. A similar cry, taunting the Princes of Borneo with their relations to the English, was raised at their unfortunate massacre, and the arrival of British ships was in the same manner spoken of in derision; but on Admiral Cochrane's appearance in the river they quickly retired from their forts. It has been before stated, that while the taunting expressions above recited were used by Bulan, the son and nephew of this thoughtless savage were in the hands of the English: he is reported to have said, when reminded of this circumstance, that his sons were clever in the jungle, and that he trusted to their making their escape as soon as the news reached Sarawak.

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Though from their friendly intercourse with the Malays they have adopted some of the customs, and have borrowed considerably from the language of that

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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people, they have not introduced polygamy, or, with the exception of slavery, any other of their reprehensible practices. The ceremony of marriage, as far as I have learnt, is very simple, and consists merely in the persons, who have previously agreed upon the point, living together, and a feast being made on the occasion to which all who choose may repair. Their marriage feasts, like all the others, usually end in the whole of the persons assembled becoming intoxicated with a fermented beverage which they make from rice, and which they affirm they were taught by the Chinese. The state of morality amongst the Sakarran and Sambas Dyaks is strangely more lax than in any of the other tribes. It is affirmed, and they themselves have frequently told me, that it is the common custom for the unmarried women to have amongst the similarly situated of the other sex, lovers to whom they are liberal of their favours: this proceeds with the knowledge and consent of the parents for some time, but if the girl should prove pregnant, the father of the child must take the mother for his wife; but if the connexion should long continue without the attainment of this desired result, the acquaintance is discontinued, and they each seek new sharers of their loves. Should they not be constant to each other during this stage of their intimacy, the offence, though public, never becomes an occasion of scandal to either person concerned, and nothing is said of it except, perhaps, by the one who has been deceived.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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the flesh of animals, as amongst the inland tribes. Nearly all the beasts of the forest are eaten by these people, even monkeys, alligators (if small), snakes and other reptiles are esteemed. Like the French, they regard frogs as a delicate dish, and bestow considerable pains in procuring them: their rice is cooked in brass or earthen pots, called priuks, which they purchase from the Malays; and plates of English manufacture have recently become very general among them. They eat from the plates with their right hand, compressing the rice (which is not cooked dry as that of the Malays) into a ball of convenient size. They know no way of cooking flesh but by boiling it, which they do in bamboos, having previously cut the whole animal into small pieces.

I once saw some Dyaks roasting a monkey, but did not stay to observe whether they did not boil it afterwards, as they generally partially roast these animals to free them from the hair. They have very little idea of flavouring their food except with salt, though they sometimes employ chilis, or small capsicums, turmeric, and ginger for that purpose. The Sebooyohs, who have lived more intimately with the Malays than the other tribes, have very much improved upon their cooking, the methods having been copied from their Mahometan neighbours. As they have no occasion for fire except for the purposes of cooking, their houses have no chimney, and the little smoke which is created finds its way through

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

753 He acts upon its suggestions and propitiates it with sacri-
755 fices; but if it still prove obstinate and refuse to budge, the *manang* admits his inability to deal with it, and some other wizard is called in who is believed to have at his command a more powerful familiar. Whether the patient live or die the *manang* is rewarded for his pains; he makes sure of that before he undertakes the case, for he is put to considerable inconvenience, being fetched away from his own home and obliged to take up his abode with his patient; he can therefore undertake only one case at a time, but to it he devotes his whole attention. He takes his meals with the family, and in other ways makes himself quite at home. If a cure be effected he receives a valuable present in addition to his ordinary
[757] expenses. Herbal remedies are frequently administered by him, and a diet enjoined. Such treatment works wonders in all simple disorders, and not unnaturally, but to enhance the value of the cure, spells are muttered and cabalistic verses recited exorcising the foul fiend that is tormenting the body. I have
[177] known *manangs* to have administered in this way European medicines procured from the Government dispensary, for they are wide awake and ready at all times to avail themselves of remedies of known efficacy. Every regular *manang* is supposed to be attended by a familiar spirit who is good and powerful; but it often happens that the evil spirit is the more powerful of the two, and when this is the case the sick man
[761] cannot recover, and death ensues. By death they understand the flight of the soul out of the body. When a person complains of pain in the body the familiar will often suggest that some mischievous devil has put something into him to cause the pain. The *manang* will thereupon manipulate the part and pretend by some sleight of hand to draw something out of it, a stick, or a stone, or whatever it may chance to be, which, no doubt, he has previously concealed about his person, and he will hand it about and exhibit it as the cause of the pain in the body, which he has thus been able to remove without so much as leaving a mark on the skin.

755 On other occasions if the disease be internal, the *manang* calls together all the friends of the sick person, making, with the assistance of others playing on gongs and tomtoms, a deafening noise sufficient to kill a person in ordinary health. He pretends to converse with the spirit which troubles the afflicted person, or he pretends to fall into a trance, during which his spirit is supposed to wander about in the spirit world to find out what is the matter with the patient.

His method of treating diseases is not very conducive to the restoration of health, but if the strength of the person is suffi-

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

The bodies of the Dians and Batas, who formerly ruled in Baloi, rest in chambers of iron-wood. The *salong*, as it is called, is a Kyan institution, and foreign to the River Rejang. The *klirieng*, on the other hand, is indigenous. The former is a miniature house of iron-wood, built upon piles of the same material, with a single chamber large enough to contain the coffins of the chief, his brothers and sisters, his family and their families. The *klirieng* is either a single or double pillar, carved from top to bottom with niches up its side for the bodies of slaves and followers, and hollow at the top to receive the jar which contains the bones of the chief for whom it is raised. The pillar is covered with a heavy stone slab. One of the best *salongs* is built upon nine huge posts, three deep; the six side posts are 23 feet above ground, the two end posts which support the roof-tree 26 feet. The floor of the chamber is 18 feet above the ground, and the chamber itself is 13 × 12 feet. This *salong* differs from other *salongs* in having, besides, a centre post of 7 feet girth rising above the floor but not reaching up to the roof; it is, in fact, a *klirieng* within a *salong*, being hollow towards the top, but with the aperture on one side. I shifted the yellow curtain which hung over it, and saw the jar, a valuable one; between it and the walling were the personal effects and funeral gifts—mats, baskets and weapons. The pillar outside was furnished with handles, upon which hung boys' nose flutes and lutes. There were four coffins in the chamber, and the *débris* of others littered the floor. There were paddles and shields up against the walling. The roof is formed of *bilian* planks, and cannot be prised open. It is 27 feet long at its greatest length. The chamber is provided with a door at one end, and is fastened from the inside. Faces of hideous demons are carved upon the posts, with cups for eyes. On the ridge of the roof is an enormous wooden dragon, and the rafters (five on each side) all end in a carved monster called *Aso*, defying description. The bodies of slaves and faithful followers were placed upon scaffolds under the floor and between the posts side by side with the war boat of the chief. In front of the mausoleum is a pointed stake, 16 feet above ground, upon which human heads were stuck and prisoners impaled. Another *salong* is not so well preserved, but is larger and more massive. The chamber is 14 × 13 feet, the posts are 12 in number, three deep, but four in a row. The eight outside posts are 22 feet above the ground, and the two end ones 26 feet; the centre ones do not pierce the floor. It was formerly the practice to drive the principal post into the earth through the body of a living captive or slave, a custom still in force in some parts. A Kajaman double *klirieng*, the best in all Baloi, has the

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

the skill and patience with which he was accomplishing the task without substantial alteration, and generally without changing the writer's words. The present paper, the first instalment of the whole, shows Mr. Low's skill both as an anthropologist and as a philologist, whose linguistic studies in the Dyak region, which from his official position in Sarawak he knew intimately, add largely to our knowledge of a group of languages as yet but scantily known. Among the topics to which Dr. Tylor wished to call special attention, are the remarks on the relation of dreams to the idea of soul or spirit, a fundamental doctrine of the animistic scheme of religion. No illustration could be stronger than that of the Dyak, who, having dreamt that he fell into the water, attributes this to his shadow-soul having really fallen into the water, and proceeds, by the aid of the spirit-doctor, to recover it, and get it restored to him. In the description of omens, the animistic reason for animals giving intelligence by omens is supplied where it is mentioned that such spirits of birds are considered to be really transmigrated ancestors come to warn the Dyaks of danger. This throws an important light on what we call ill-omened birds and other creatures, who from this point of view are not vexatious, but come as friends to save their friends from harm. It appears that the Dyaks share with the Kafirs of South Africa the delusion that the lengths of shadows vary, portending good or ill. Among other doctrines familiar to students of the lower culture, here well illustrated, may be observed the tabu, here known as mali (given by St. John in the form *pamali*); the totem-animal, whose flesh may not be eaten; the tree-spirit, consenting or objecting to its tree being felled; the accounting for bad weather by the anger of the spirits at marriage-customs having been violated, &c. Care must, however, be taken not to overlook the effects of foreign civilized influence on the ideas of these rude people. The mystic number seven, as in the doctrine of the seven spirits, must be due to Hindu or Moslem influence; as also the worship of the deity called here the Great Spirit, whose name, probably showing in which of these two cultured religions he originated, will, no doubt, be specified in papers to come later on before the Institute.

Dr. Codrington said that very much of what had been read, especially in the first part, corresponded closely with what had been observed in Melanesia. Without referring to general resemblance or identity, three words had struck him as remarkable: 1. *Antu*, no doubt the Polynesian *atua*, a spiritual being or demon; 2. *Manang*, probably the *mana*, by which all magic and doctoring is worked in Melanesia; 3. *Tapu*. (This last, however, was introduced in the paper, not as a native word, but as generally understood.)

Sir Hugh Low said:—In reference to the points in this paper in which Dr. Codrington has remarked similarity to the customs of the natives of the Islands of Polynesia, I should like to mention that, although it is now more than forty years since I had the opportunity

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

into the far interior, or plunge into the jungle in quest of its produce.

As a rule the women have to do all the weeding (*mantun*) by themselves; this is a very laborious task, as the weeds grow so rapidly as to threaten to choke the paddy unless promptly removed. Another grievance is the grass, originally called *rumput teku*, but since nicknamed *rumput blanda*, and which they declare was introduced by the whites to feed their cattle on. It is now a proverbial saying with them that it is impossible to get rid of this grass, likewise is it unprofitable to shake off the rule of the white man.

As the paddy begins to ripen, the men return to their homes and the families remove entirely to their farms, where there is plenty to do to scare away the birds and other pests and to prepare for the harvest. The paths intersecting the farm are closed at this season, and no one can traverse them without paying a penalty or sin-offering of a fowl and a bit of iron. Those who may be suffering from positive want, having exhausted their last year's stock, now glean of the half ripe paddy as much as they require for their immediate necessities; this is called *ñumbar*.

But when the paddy is fully ripe they all turn out, men and women, boys and girls, with knives and baskets and pluck the ripe ears with a few inches of stalk; these are then carried home and put out to dry, after which they are thrown into an enormous sieve suspended from the roof of the house, and threshed by the action of the feet, the grains falling through on to a mat placed underneath on purpose to receive them. After thorough drying in the sun, they are put in tubs made of bark (*tibang*) and stowed away in the loft or else housed in a hut, built on purpose for them hard by the village, the posts of which are furnished with wooden discs immediately below the flooring to prevent the rats from entering. The Dyak method of pounding the paddy to free it from the husk by means of pestle and mortar is injurious to the grain. By it the hard outer skin which protects it from the weevil is broken and this insect soon takes advantage of the circumstance to attack and destroy it. In the husk or paddy state the rice can be kept for years without injury.

The Punans and Kajamans farm meagrely; they prefer the sago to rice and grow the palm.

2. *Habitations.*

A Sea Dyak village is a terrace upon posts varying in length according to the number of houses of which it is composed, and

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with scarlet cloth. There is another kind much worn by the Sakarangs which resembles a waistcoat more than a jacket, being without sleeves. The Ulu Ais manufacture a coarse white jacket striped with blue. The *klambi subang* manufactured by the Saribas is of finer and closer texture than any other, and is in consequence far more expensive. The thread of which it is wrought is procured from the Malays, and is of a red colour. The lower portion of the back is embroidered with gold and silver thread with a fringe of silk depending from it.

The *dandong* or shawl is worn slung over one shoulder.

The ornaments worn in the ear are various, some in the lobe and others in the outer cartilage. The former are called *langgu* and the latter *grunjong*. The *langgu* of the Ulu Ai is borrowed from the Punan, and consists of a small but heavy coil of brass or copper. The Lamanaks wear larger but lighter ones of lead. Boys sometimes wear a narrow strip of scarlet as a pendant to the ear or a wing of the golden green *chrysochroa* (? *buprestis*) beetle, so highly valued in India.

The *grunjong* is worn in the rim of the ear, which is pierced along its entire length to receive the numerous rings of which it is composed, and it looks uncommonly pretty on the person; but when it is discontinued for a time as it often is from choice or by necessity, as in mourning for instance, and the holes are plugged with wooden pegs to keep them open, the cartilage looks hideously ugly and disfigured by slits. The rings are of brass, and smallest at the top gradually increasing in size until they reach the bottom. A very great many are worn in each ear by the young and vain, while elderly men are content with fewer. The variety worn by the Ulu Ai and Ngkari are strung with white cowries, which are kept in their place by a ruby bead at either end of the line, and are heavier by far than the plain brass *grunjongs* used by the Sakarangs.

The *tinggu* is a pendant worn at each ear to droop on to the shoulder and is only worn by over-dressed dandies. It is decidedly ornamental, being made of thin crescent-shaped plates of brass stamped and fringed with metal.

A *simpai lengan* is an armlet, or as it is literally translated, a loop for the arm. It is worn above the elbow joint and is often of dark wood or carved ivory, but the kind most generally in use is formed from the base of the cone of the *kima* shell (*conus guratensis*), and is grooved on its upper surface. The cavity is filled up with resinous substance, and studded with the scarlet seed of the *michelia* or with a few nassar shells. It is a most becoming ornament but extremely expensive—
A pair of the largest and best, costing £6.

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a pair of the largest and best, costing £6. Occasionally two are worn on each arm, but this is considered bad taste and is discouraged. 301

The *tumpa* or bracelets worn alike by men and women are of three descriptions, and are called *tumpa gelang, tumpa bala,* and *tumpa unus* respectively. The first are of brass, the second of ivory and the last of plaited fibre. The two first consist of some sixty close-fitting rings commencing at the wrist and reaching half way up the arm; a few in the former are made to hang loose on the back of the hand and being engraved are styled *tengkelai.*

The *tumpa bala* or *tumpa godieng* as they are also called, have been adopted by the Sea Dyaks within the last few years from the Tetaks and Segans; they are now made in china and gold in Bornean Bazaars.

The *tumpa unus* are only worn by young people too poor to afford any other kind; they are merely rings of plaited gomuti palm fibre worn in heavy masses on the wrist.

Kongkong rekong signifies "collar for the throat." Necklaces of European beads are worn by the young of both sexes; the ends are furnished with tassels of minute beads or bats' fangs. They are worn loose round the throat, and button in front, the tassels resting on the chest. Lamanak lads are fond of a large gold button as well as the tassel, but this is not universal even among their own tribe. Frequently several necklaces are worn, especially by the women. These necklaces of beads seem to have superseded the more savage necklaces of human teeth, etc., which were the fashion a generation ago, and is one proof of the civilising influence of the European government. [177]

The *tinchian tunjok* are the rings worn on the fingers by both sexes. They are commonly made of brass, variously but rudely engraved, and are not soldered at the ends; other metals also are used but less frequently, such as copper, lead, tin. Gold and silver rings are procured from the Malays and used only by the tribes living in close proximity to them. Shell rings are less uncommon.

The *ngkrimoks* are hoops of cane worn immediately below the knee-joint, and covered with an infinity of diminutive brass rings. The hoops some eight or ten in number are strung together with coloured rattan to preserve a compact and regular appearance. The *ngkrimoks* are worn almost exclusively by tribes of Sakarang and Lamanak origin; the Ulu Ais and Ngkaris use the *unus* instead, and this consists of innumerable rings of plaited fibre worn in heavy masses, as many as 300 at a time upon each leg. The palm from which 301 171

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universal or obligatory, and is only performed upon males. In the female the clitoris is said to be amputated.

The spritsail yard in the penis.—The *palang* is a smooth bar of bone or metal, the size and length of the bar of an ordinary watch-guard, with the ends rounded off. It is not generally so elaborate as the *utang* (perforation of penis) used by the Kyan chiefs, but it is equally effective and gratifying to the female. The *palang* is not, however, a Dyak institution; it originated with the Kyans, but it is fast becoming popular with at least a portion of the rising generation. It is nevertheless a pernicious practice, and ruinous to the male organ, even if the operation be skilfully performed; it is therefore to be hoped that the young fellows will discover their mistake before it is too late and refuse point blank to pander to the vitiated propensities of the looser behaved females. These latter encourage the practice for their own selfish purposes by every artifice in their power. The truth appears to be that no woman once habituated to its use will ever dream of permitting her bedfellow to discontinue the practice of wearing it. The Dyaks are satisfied with one, the Kyans, especially the chiefs, with sometimes as many as three at a time. The operation is a painful one for any man to submit to, and if the hole be not driven clear of the urethra the consequences are apt to be serious in the extreme. The member is first immersed in cold water and when numb to all sensation, the glans is compressed sideways between a pair of perforated bamboos, and a pointed brass peg is driven through it with a single blow, but in such a manner as to pass above the urinary canal. The *palang* is then introduced as the peg is slowly drawn out.

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The *palang unus*, as it is called, is also used by the Dyaks. It is a ring, or collar, of plaited palm fibre, furnished with a pair of stiffish horns of the same wiry material. It is worn on the neck of the glans and fits tight to the skin so as not to slip off. The idea is in all probability borrowed from the Malays.

5. *Hunting.*

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Hunting with dogs.—Hunting is with the Sea-Dyaks an occasional pursuit rather than a steady occupation or a necessity of existence. They subsist more upon a vegetable than an animal diet, and they fish far more than they hunt. They only form hunting parties once or twice a year, when the entire village is about to celebrate some periodical festival, and it becomes an imperative duty to provide an abundance as well as a variety of food for the guests. Other tribes devote more time to the chase

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

The *parang ñabur* seems to be the only really genuine Dyak weapon. The *parang pedang* they have copied from the Malays, and the *parang ilang* is altogether a Kyan weapon, and beyond their powers of imitation. The *ñabur* in ordinary use is a short curved sword with a bone handle. This style of sword is broadest at its points of curvature. It does not curve like a scimitar from the hilt, but is straight for some distance, and takes a sudden curve towards the end, and when the sword is long, as is one in my collection, it becomes top heavy and requires both hands to wield it effectually.

The *parang ilang* is the Kyan *malab* (*mandau* elsewhere), and is preferred to any other side arm by Malays as well as Dyaks. It is the ambition of every Dyak lad to be presented with one of these.

The Uma Bawangs are famous for their *parangs*, which they make out of their own iron ore.

The war costume consists of a basket-work hat called a *katapu* and a skin-jacket called a *gagong;* in lieu of the latter the *klambi taiah* (?) a quilted jacket is used. These form but poor defensive armour for the body; reliance is placed upon the shield.

The *katapu* or helmet in general use is a round skull cap of wicker work, with a rush lining and occasionally a skin covering, surmounted by either a metal plate or two of fanciful pattern or the scaly armour of the *tenggolieng*. The crown is decorated with the plumage of birds and the sides with tufts of human hair. The rim is bordered with scarlet flannel and embroidered with nassur shells.

The Kyans and Kiñahs wear on their headpieces the tail plumes of the helmeted hornbill—each plume signifying a dead enemy.

The *gagong* or war-jacket is a skin with a hole and slit in the neck of it to admit of the insertion of the warrior's head, the animal's face falling on his stomach, and its back hanging over his shoulders and reaching below the waist. This dress is by no means universal among the Dyaks, as suitable skins are not so easy to obtain. Goat skins are preferred by them to any other, being long haired at the shoulder, and black is preferred to white; bear skins and panther skins are also in use but more sparingly. The animal's face is usually covered with a metal plate, or a mother-of-pearl shell, to protect the pit of the stomach, and the back is decorated with bunches of hornbill feathers. The gagong is worn more for its warlike appearance than for any real protection it affords the wearer. It may possibly divert a wooden javelin, but it is no defence against the thrust of a spear. The Kiñahs wear the mandibles of the

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

The blikan is a rude-stringed instrument resembling a guitar, and was formerly much in use. It was adopted from the Urus, and is more frequently found among the Seribas and Kalakan Dyaks than among any others. It is furnished with two strings (rattan) and two keys. The strings are pressed with the tips of the fingers of the left hand to modify the tone—there are no stops—while the nails of the fingers of the right hand brush the strings. The stock is glued into the beak or bill of a bird, the *kiñalong* or *burong bilch*, and the body is coloured red with the colouring matter of a wild-growing, poisonous fungus. It is 3 feet long from end to end. The *blikan* is hollowed out from the upper surface, and is covered with a thin plate of wood. The *saflé*, on the other hand, is hollowed out from underneath, and is not closed up.

The *gendang* is a wooden drum, shaped like an hour glass, one end covered with parchment, which can be tightened or slackened at pleasure, by means of cords; it is not beaten with drumsticks, but is struck with the fingers.

The *satong* is a cylindrical bamboo harp, or lyre, played upon with the fingers.

The *gulieng* is a bamboo pipe, with a plug at the mouth hole, and differs from a whistle in having finger holes, by means of which different tones can be produced. It is blown at the end like a flageolet, and the three finger holes are placed equidistantly. Four distant tones are easily obtainable upon it, the lowest when all the finger holes are covered, and the other three by opening the finger holes successively.

The *krumong* is made of narrow slabs of wood or stone, which upon percussion with a wooden hammer produce a series of tones similar to those obtained on an harmonicon.

The *busoi* is formed of a bow resting on the ground in a hollow vessel of earthenware or metal, and the string is made to vibrate with a plectrum.

The *kiurai* is a wind instrument, constructed of a number of tubes, placed in a calabash with a long snout which serves as a mouthpiece, and which are thus sounded together; chords and combinations of chords or harmony can be produced from it. The finger holes are, some of them, placed laterally, others on the upper surface, and others again on the lower surface.

Singing.—The *pelandai* is the recitative in which the natives pour forth their feelings, their sorrows and disappointments, their desires and ambitions. It is full of feeling, and the voice is modulated to express all its shades. The utterance is slow at first, but is rapid towards the end. There is repetition in redundancy of expression and reiteration. The voice is often tremulous with passion, like the wail of a broken heart—a mournful cadence like the dirge of the dead.

6: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951) 1958 OC6 Iban OC6

people are the descendants of migrants from the interior of the Second Division of Sarawak, and especially from the headwaters of the Batang Lupar. Travelling chiefly by way of the Katibas and Ngemah rivers, the first of these migrants reached the primeval forests of the Baleh in the early 1880's, but it was not until about forty years later, following serious conflict with the Brooke Government, that permanent Iban settlement was achieved [2]. Today the Baleh is an exclusively Iban area.

During the years—from 1949 to 1951—when my field research was undertaken [3], the Iban of the Baleh region were still little touched by the outside world. Their men, with long hair and bodies profusely tattooed, and their women, clad in ikat skirts of their own weaving, were all still pagan and pre-literate; and throughout the whole Baleh region, Iban culture—in all its extraordinary richness—was still a flourishing reality. In this essay then, we shall be concerned with the traditional ways of the Iban, ways which—because of the tolerant policies of the White Rajahs of Sarawak—have survived unscathed into the modern world.

THE IBAN LONG-HOUSE

All of the Iban of the Baleh region still live in long-houses. Architecturally there is nothing very remarkable about an Iban long-house, but many of them, out of sheer length, make an impressive spectacle. Rumah Tungku, for example, one of the long-houses selected for detailed discussion in this essay, extends in an uninterrupted line for more than a sixth of a mile. Standing on an elevated terrace, well beyond the reach of flood waters, and lifted high on score upon score of hardwood piles, it stretches—as do all Iban long-houses—along the bank of a river. Here and there, entry ladders of notched logs lead up like gangways to the *tanju*, an open platform that runs the entire length of the spindly structure and gives access to the public gallery and the family apartments beyond. Over both gallery and apartments a low-pitched roof of wooden shingles forms an unbroken expanse. At first glance the whole sprawling building seems like some huge barracks or pavilion.

Few long-houses have the dimensions of Rumah Tungku (sixty to a hundred yards is more common a length), but, casually regarded, all Iban long-houses do have the appearance of being compact architectural units, and this appearance has led some writers (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909: 27) to the supposition that the long-house is therefore the outcome of some kind of communal or group organization and ownership. For the Iban, however, this supposition is very far from the truth.

Although the platform (*tanju*) and the gallery (*ruai*) of a long-house do extend without interruption throughout its entire length, an Iban long-house is, in fact, made up of a series of independently owned apartments, and

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

into contact with higher civilization and better religion. Mr. Gomes mentions some instances of its expression. Perhaps I may add an illustrative instance which occurred in my own experiences, many years ago. One night I was at anchor with a Dyak crew on the Saribas River, waiting for the turn of the tide. About 3 a.m. I was awakened by a frightened cry from one of the crew: "Antu! antu!" (A spirit, a spirit!). Thinking myself lucky at last in a chance of actually seeing one of those invisible beings whom Dyaks dread so much, I pushed my head from under the mosquito-curtain, and looked out, and beheld a comet brightly shining not far above the horizon. Presently I heard a school-lad say: "That's not a spirit; it's only a star with a tail. I have learnt about it." There was the old superstition and the new knowledge struggling together, a symbol of what is going on in other departments of Dyak thought and belief—the working of that which, it is to be hoped, will issue in a higher and an improved life for the race. Our Author's book will evoke a lively interest in such an improvement in Dyakland, and will inspire a deeper sympathy with every progressive effort towards it.

In going over Mr. Gomes's pages my thoughts have often gone back to days, now long past, when he and I were workers together among the people of whom he writes so sympathetically, and many a long-forgotten incident has come back to mind; and it is a pleasure to write a simple word of welcome to this product of his pen, and to express a conviction that his book is just what was wanted to give the public a clear and adequate conception of one of the leading races which have been ruled over by the "Two White Rajahs" of Sarawak.

JOHN PERHAM.

CHARD,
December, 1910.

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impossible for the observer to gain a favourable position for beholding the richest blooms, which often climb far above him, turning their faces towards the sunlight above the roof of foliage.

These regions are still inhabited by half-clad men and women, living quaint lives in their strange houses, observing weird ceremonies, and cherishing strange superstitions and curious customs, delighting in games and feasts, and repeating ancient legends of their gods and heroes. But in a few years all these things will be forgotten; for in Borneo, as elsewhere, civilization is coming—coming quickly—and all the distinctive Dyak customs will soon be things of the past. Already the Dyak is mixing with other races in the towns, and is changing his picturesque dress for Western costume. He is fast forgetting his old practices and his old modes of thought.

The tropical forests of Sarawak were much the same years ago as they are to-day. But the life of the Dyak is already greatly changed, and his lot improved by the introduction of just rule, law and order, and respect for human life. For a moment let us go back to the past, and try to picture the life of the Sea Dyak as it was some sixty years ago.

In those days there was constant warfare between the different tribes, and the Dyaks lived together in large numbers in their long houses, which had stockades around them, so that they had some defence against any sudden attack. Very often the young braves would make an expedition against some neighbouring tribe, simply because they wanted to bring home, each man of them, the ghastly trophy of a human head, and thus gain favour in the eyes of the Dyak girls. In these expeditions many were killed and many taken captive, to be the slaves of the conquerors.

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142 ties most required by dwellers in the jungle. Their movements are easy and graceful, and their carriage erect. The women are generally smaller than the men. They have neat figures, and are bright, cheerful, and good-
[145] looking in their youth, but they age very soon.

The colour of their skin varies considerably, not so much between one tribe and another as in different parts of the country. Generally speaking, those who reside in the interior of the country, on the banks of the upper reaches of the rivers, are fairer than those who live nearer the sea. This may be due to the deeper shade afforded by old jungle, and the bathing in and drinking of the water of the clear, gravel-bedded streams. Their colour varies from a dark bronze to a light brown, with a tinge of yellow. Their eyes are black or dark brown, clear and bright, with quick intelligence and good temper. Their
[276] mouths are generally ill-shapen and disfigured by excessive chewing of *sireh* and betel-nut, a habit much indulged in by both men and women.

291 In dress great alterations have resulted from foreign influence, and the Dyaks who live near the towns wear
● 177 the trousers and coat of civilized races, but the original style still prevails in the up-country villages.

291 Love of finery is inherent in the young Dyak. The old men are often very shabbily dressed, but the young are more particular. The ordinary male attire consists of a *sirat*, or waist-cloth, a *labong*, or headkerchief, and a *tikai buret*, or seat-mat. The waist-cloth is made of the soft inner bark of a tree, or more frequently of some red or blue cotton cloth. This is one yard wide, and from eight to eighteen feet long, and is twisted round and round their waists, and pulled up tight between the thighs, one end hanging down in front and the other behind. Sometimes

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the attributes of another by eating his flesh or drinking his blood. The Dacota Indian, I am told, eats the heart of his slain enemy, and the New Zealander his eyes. It would appear that the Dyaks have the same idea.

On the return from a war expedition, if the people of any particular boat have been fortunate enough to secure a human head, word is sent up to the Dyak village house of this fact, as soon as the boat reaches the landing-stage. The men remain in the boat, and wait there till all the women-folk from the house come to it, dressed in their best. Generally only the men dance, and the arrival of a boat bearing the ghastly trophy of a human head is the only occasion when the women dance. The excitement is great, and there are continual shouts of triumph as the women, singing a monotonous chant, surround the hero who has killed the enemy and lead him to the house. He is seated in a place of honour, and the head is put on a brass tray before him, and all crowd round him to hear his account of the battle, and how he succeeded in killing one of their foes and bringing home his head.

From all that has been said, it will be seen how the Dyaks value the heads taken in war. They hang them over the fireplaces in the long open veranda of their houses, they make offerings to them, and they believe that the souls of those whom they have slain will be their slaves in the other world. I look upon it as a remarkable fact worthy of record that two great Dyak Chiefs who became Christians—one the Orang Kaya of Padih, Saribas, and the other, Tarang of Krian—should have taken such a decided step as to refuse to treasure their enemies' heads any more. They were both men of position, with a great reputation for bravery. The Orang Kaya buried all the heads he possessed, and gave out

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that none of his followers in a war expedition should bring back heads. Two of his grandchildren were at my school in Temudok for some years. A son of Tarang, Tujoh by name, worked as my catechist in Krian for some years. I asked him what his father did with the old heads he possessed when he refused to keep them himself. He told me that he did not think his father acted wisely in that matter. His relatives begged for the heads, and he gave them to them, and they did just what his father did not wish—made a feast in honour of these heads, and treasured them!

While so many Dyak Christians are most unwilling to give up their old heathen customs, these two Christian Dyak Chiefs happily took up the right attitude in such an important matter in the eyes of the Dyaks as head-taking.

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627 But this is seldom done. The fine imposed by the headman is so small compared to that which would have to be paid if the case were tried elsewhere that the guilty party generally prefers to pay it cheerfully rather than appeal to the Government.

628 If the dispute be between the inmates of one house and those of another, then the headmen of both houses have to be present at the trial. When matters are at all complicated, headmen from other houses are also asked to be present and help in the administration of justice.

622 627 177 I learn from conversations with the older Dyaks that in bygone days the power of the headman was much greater than it is now. Then he used to impose much heavier fines and take part of them himself for his trouble, and no Dyak dared to murmur against the decision of his Chief. In those days there was no court of appeal. The only means of protesting was to leave the house and build on to another, and in the old days such a thing was not so easily done as at present. The Dyak houses were much longer and built much farther apart, and to join another house meant moving to a district very far away and cutting off all connection with relatives and friends.

556 435 [436] [437] Wealth among the Dyaks is not so much the accumulation of money as the possession of brass gongs, guns, and valuable jars. Money is not used except by the inhabitants of the towns. The up-country Dyaks procure what they need by a system of barter, and in most of the shopping done in the Chinese bazaars near the Dyak villages no money passes hands at all. Silver coins are used by the Dyaks for making belts and bangles, and are often attached to the edge of the petticoats worn by the women at feasts and on other special occasions, and are

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from their masters and mistresses, and they live all together and fare precisely the same, very often eating the same food at the same time from the same dish. In many cases children who have been taken captive become so endeared to their masters that they are adopted, and intermarry with the sons and daughters of the other inhabitants of the village.

The ceremony of adoption is usually performed at a great feast, so that the matter may be made as public as possible. The owner of the slave announces to the assembled guests that he has freed him and adopted him as his brother. He then presents to him a spear, with which he is told to slay the man who dares in future to call him a slave.

The old Dyak law concerning debts was that if a man borrowed paddy or rice from another, he must pay double that amount at the next harvest. If therefore a debtor had a succession of bad harvests, his debt would become so great that he could not ever hope to pay it off. If he paid part of his debt, then the following year he would be expected to pay double the amount still due. In process of time his debt would become so great that he and his family would have to become slaves in payment of it.

According to old Dyak laws people who were careless enough to set a house on fire rendered themselves liable to become the slaves of those who were burnt out. The damage done by their carelessness would be too great for them to compensate, so they would become slaves for debt.

Sir James Brooke made a law that after a certain number of years all slaves for debt were to be set free, so at present there are not any, except those who have grown old in the service of their masters, and do not wish for their freedom.

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CHAPTER VIII

MY SCHOOL IN THE JUNGLE

Up-country mission schools—Education—The Saribas Dyaks eager to learn—School programme—What the boys were taught—Some schoolboy reminiscences—A youthful Dyak *manang*—The story of Buds—The opening of the Krian Mission and the Saribas Mission.

IN this chapter I want to say something about the little school of Dyak boys I had in the up-country mission station in my charge. My school was a very small one. The largest number of boarders I ever had was sixteen. It would seem hardly necessary to devote a whole chapter to it, but the up-country school is an important factor for good, and deserves encouragement. I should like to see more of these schools in different parts of the country. I feel sure that it does a Dyak boy a great deal of good to be a few years in one of these small schools under the personal supervision of the missionary in charge. Here he would do much manual work, just as he would do in his own home, and he would at the same time be taught moral truths as well as general knowledge. When he returns to his Dyak home, he is sure to influence his people for good. The object of education is to build up character. The way to improve the Dyaks is not to educate a certain number of them to earn their living elsewhere, but to take some young people from the Dyak village, improve them by implanting in their minds right

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●177

ideas, and then send them back to live with their own people the ordinary work-a-day life of the Dyak. I agree with those who say that to place Dyak boys in one of the larger schools in Kuching for any length of time will make a return to their old surroundings distasteful to them, and unfit them for the ordinary life and occupations of their people. And therefore I think that only those who show a special aptitude to become teachers should be sent on to the school at the capital to be taught to read and write English. A certain number of clerks are needed, but that number is very limited, and to produce a large number of Dyak clerks for whom there is not sufficient work is surely a mistake. There are some who advocate technical education for the Dyak. No doubt he would with training make an excellent carpenter or smith, but again he would find difficulty in getting work. He would never be able to compete with the Chinese artisan into whose hands all the skilled labour has fallen.

The main object of my school in the jungle was to teach Dyak boys for a few years, and then send them back to their own people. Unfortunately, I had not the means to carry this out to any great extent.

A few of my schoolboys, after being with me for some time, were sent on to the larger school at Kuching to be taught English. These were the boys who one hoped would in after years become teachers and catechists. There is so little Dyak literature that it is necessary that a person learn English so as to be able to educate himself by reading English books. But the majority of my boys stayed with me for two, three, or four years, and then returned to their Dyak homes. In my school there was manual work as well as lessons to do. They lived plainly,

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cooking their own food and doing most of their own work. They were cut away from all the superstitious customs of their people, and received a certain amount of moral and religious training. After three or four years of such school life they were ready to return to their old surroundings, taking with them the lessons they had learnt.

For the present, at any rate, there is no need for the Dyak to take up new industries. What he wants is to be taught to do the work he has to do more thoroughly, and to be released from the bondage of superstition and the constant fear of evil spirits in which he lives. The problem of his future will work itself out by a natural process. When the present sources of supply fail him, necessity will force him to take up new industries.

My schoolboys came from different Dyak villages, but the majority of them were boys from Saribas. The Dyaks of that district are more anxious to improve themselves than other Dyak races. The following incident will show how keen they are to learn to read. A party of Saribas Dyaks going on a gutta-hunting expedition asked for a copy of the first Dyak reading-book, because one of them could read, and thought he would teach the others in the evenings when they were not at work. And this is indeed what did happen, and when the party returned most of them were able to read. The Saribas women are just as keen as the men, and many of them have been taught to read by some Dyak friend. I have myself noticed, when holding services for the Christians in some villages in Saribas, how many of those present were able to use the Dyak Prayer-Book and follow the service and read the responses.

A Dyak schoolmaster, who had taught in Banting for many years, afterwards worked as the Government clerk

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at Betong in Saribas. He told me that he was struck by the number of Dyak men and women in Saribas who could write, and how they often wrote letters to their friends who were away, and received letters from them.

The school programme for the day was as follows :

5.45 *a.m.*—The two boys whose turn it was to cook, and the two boys whose turn it was to sweep out the school-room and the lower room of the Mission House, would get up and begin their duties.

6.30 *a.m.*—A gong would be struck telling the boys to come to breakfast. They would all go to the kitchen and have their meal, consisting of rice with a little salt fish or vegetables.

7 *a.m.*—The boys would be told what manual work they had to do : either they would weed the paths, or cut the grass, or work at their different vegetable gardens. Sometimes they would go out into the jungle to get fire-wood. At Temudok, where the soil was good, the school-boys had excellent vegetable gardens.

8.30 *a.m.*—A gong would be struck to let them know they were to stop working and have a bath, after which, at 8.45 a.m., there would be a short service.

9-11 *a.m.*—Morning school.

12 *noon.*—Midday meal.

2-4 *p.m.*—Afternoon school.

5 *p.m.*—Evensong, to which some of the Dyaks from the village would come.

6 *p.m.*—Evening meal.

7-8 *p.m.*—Preparation for next day's lessons.

9 *p.m.*—Two or three short prayers and one verse of a children's evening hymn, after which the boys would go to bed.

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593 It must not be supposed from what has been said that conjugal affection is rare among the Dyaks. On the contrary, a great deal of it exists, and the men very often love their wives and think a great deal of their opinion. They will not decide upon any important course of action without consulting them. Where there are children, the husbands very often help their wives in doing more than their share of the man's work, and I have often seen the men nursing and fondling their naked babies when the mothers were busy.

●177 Dyaks who have come in contact with civilization, and who have been to school themselves, see the advantages of being educated, and I know of a Dyak in Saribas who married a young wife and sent her to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Girls' School in the capital of Sarawak (Kuching) for two years to be taught before she came to live with him in his Dyak home.

606 As has been mentioned before, the parents of a woman often tyrannize over a son-in-law who takes up his abode with them. If the woman herself side with her parents, it is often very unpleasant for the husband. I remember talking over this matter with some Dyaks at Sebetan, and telling them that I thought, as a general rule, it was better for husband and wife to settle between themselves any differences they might have, without interference from others, and I mentioned certain cases of divorce which, I said, I felt sure would not have come about except for the interference of the mothers-in-law, who behaved foolishly and caused mischief. Then I turned round to one of the men present, and said :—

"You have lived for many years with your wife's relatives, and you seem to be happy enough. You are one of the few who have had no differences with the relatives of their wives, and live happily in spite of

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

among the large and scattered population of Sea Dyaks in Sarawak is but small.

The up-country Mission Schools, which the Government liberally support, admit boys at an early age, when they are most susceptible to the reception of new ideas. Here they are away from Dyak surroundings, and live with the Missionary and Schoolmaster. One naturally hopes that each of these boys returning to his family will be an example to them, leading them into the right way, and no doubt the old schoolboys have an influence for good, in more ways than one, on the homes to which they return. There are, indeed, among the Christian Sea Dyaks of Sarawak some striking examples of an intelligent reception of the truth, and of a faith which is a living personal force governing their lives. But, unhappily, these cases are few as compared with the bulk of the population, and the people live such an unsettled life that missionary effort, as it exists in Sarawak at the present time, can but touch a small proportion of them, and, unless greatly reinforced, cannot affect, to any very considerable extent, the future of the Sea Dyak.

The Government, by maintaining discipline in the different districts, by punishing crime and regulating trade, is no doubt instilling into the mind of the people important principles of law and order, and it has suppressed the atrocious crimes of piracy and head-hunting. The importation of Hakka Chinese to show the Dyaks how paddy ought to be planted is an important move in the right direction, and will conduce to their prosperity if only they can be persuaded to submit to instruction. But the future of the Sea Dyak even as regards material well-being is somewhat doubtful. There are those who say that he is slowly, but none the less surely,

8: Haile N-5 (1950) 1951 OC6 Iban OC6

524 been placed, they can move in the same way as the endo, and the game is carried on until A has either hemmed in both endo so they cannot move or take (in which case A wins), or lost so many anak that it is obvious he cannot achieve this (in which case E wins).

[184] There is another variety of the game, played in the same way but with only one endo and twenty-five anak, but this is said to be inferior.

524 576 It will be seen from the above description that the game involves considerable skill. In the first game I played I was well beaten, and I managed to win the second only with the help of much whispered advice from the local experts. As far as proprieties are concerned, it is considered inappropriate for spectators to offer verbal advice, but to warn of a dangerous move by a sharp intake of breath is apparently permissible. The tyro is particularly warned to be on his guard against those unscrupulous players who split one of their anak to make an extra piece, or who will move one of their pieces along a crack in the floorboards which is not a true line in order to get out of an embrassing situation.

524 ● 177 The origin of the game is not clear. The Dayaks were emphatic that it was an Iban (Sea Dayak) game, and whilst some Kuching Malays are familiar with the game, they use the Iban terminology (i.e. "endo"), and recognise that it is a Dayak game. Although a cursory examination of ethnological literature produced no reference to the game in this form, the fact that it has spread to Kuching Malays suggests that the game may have been more popular in the past. The word "machan" is Javanese for tiger, and so the game possibly came from there.

[EDITORIAL NOTE:

177 It is likely this game came to S. E. Asia from India, and the Celebes Bugis, great voyagers helped spread it. In transit it has varied widely. This interesting form is apparently now recorded from Borneo for the first time. For a survey of Celebes Varieties see Walter Kaudern's "Games and Dances in Celebes", Gotenborg. 1929. pp. 311-313.]

and the general average 63.45 inches. These figures are all a little too high because of the selection by the recruiting officers and I would estimate the right correction to be a reduction of 0.2 or 0.3 inches.

In 1901 A. C. Haddon F.R.S. did a survey of the physical characteristics of the Ibans in all areas and found the average height to be 62.7 inches. Dr. Haddon examined 56 Ibans and with this comparatively small number it is not justified to compare the two averages through the age distribution was roughly the same.

The average weights were:—Song 126 lbs. Simanggang 119. 5 lbs. Engkilili 115 lbs. In other districts the scales used were found to be inaccurate so invalidating the results. The average weight is 120 lbs for a man of 25 years.

Palangs. A palang is a piece of bone transfixing the glans penis and usually passing through the urethra. Its purpose is to give the wife greater satisfaction in sexual intercourse. Many primitive people use similar devices. At first I kept no records of their prevalence but my recollection is that in Kapit area 30-40% had them or had perforations for them (perhaps having politely removed them for medical examination.). In Song 1 in 46 in Lubok Antu 2 in 105 and Simanggang and Engkilili none at all. Of those that had palang most were made of bone, but some had slivers of rattan curling up at both ends and others were of wood or brass. The incidence of palangs corresponds very well with my impression of the type of men, i.e those from Kapit still retaining their long hair, multiple tattoos and the sirat instead of European shorts and trousers and being altogether less influenced by civilisation.

Another characteristic of the less westernised Ibans was their extreme shyness in exposing their sexual organs whether wearing palangs or not.

During my tour I spent some time living in long-houses and going round hospital wards in the two Divisions and found that the pattern of disease I saw differed little from what I had found examining recruits.

Naturally a casual observer sees nothing of the mortality among infants nor can he assess the mortality and morbidity among the Ibans. But my impression after examining more than 500 of them is that the health of recruits is extremely good and compares very favourably with National Servicemen in England.

I am grateful to the A.D.M.S. Malaya for permission to publish this article.

11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

323 177 178 462 First, the craft of pottery (except for the carving of the wooden beaters) is entirely in the hands of women. The existence of this division of labour is important, because, among the Iban, the women are markedly more conservative and tradition-bound than are the men. Because of the custom of *bejalai*[20] (the undertaking of journeys for material gain and social prestige), almost all Iban men acquire considerable experience of the outside world, as, for example, by working for a timber company in the Rejang delta or on the oil-fields of Brunei. It is through these sophisticated and travelled men that new ideas and values are introduced into Iban communities. The women, on the other hand, are 'stay-at-homes,' whose experience is limited (but for a very occasional visit to the local trading bazaar) to their own and neighbouring long-houses. These are the women who cling—so much more tenaciously than the men—to traditional ways of thought and action. It is understandable, therefore, that the crafts which are wholly in the hands of women, such as *ikat* weaving, basketry and pottery, are well preserved.

323 415 But there are also more particular reasons that account for the fact that earthenware pots are still being made by Iban women—although recepticles of brass, iron and aluminium can be purchased without difficulty in bazaars such as Kapit. The fact is that, for certain purposes, earthenware pots of Iban make are *preferred* to pots made from metal. The issue here is the utility which *priok tanah* have for the Iban, and it is important to note that this utility is not defined in purely monetary terms. That is, Iban preferences are not determined by the fact that other kinds of cooking vessels can be obtained 'more cheaply' than their own, but that for some purposes in the present estimation of the Iban of the Tiau their own *priok tanah* possess qualities not to be found elsewhere.[21] For example, it is recognized that certain kinds of [252] foods (such as some of the relishes, or *enkayu*, which the Iban eat with their rice) taste much the best if they are cooked in an Iban earthenware pot.[22] Thus, Uyang, a middle-aged man of Rumah Tungku, while standing and watching Runin modelling one of her pots, remarked quite spontaneously: "*Nyamai enkayu mandok alam priok tanah; manis, nadai bau lang.*" ("How delicious are relishes cooked in an earthenware pot; they are sweet and without unpalatable taste.") We later found that Uyang had expressed a quite general opinion.

323 796 Finally, let me mention again those pots (such as the large pot made by Binyong of Rumah Tungku) which are used for the

292 X 531 The third row shows figures, the heads of which are labelled *pala engkaramba bekatapu*, head with war cap, wearing the feathered war cap, *ujok ujok katapu*. One of the carried heads is labelled *minching* (*labu*). *Labu* signifies a gourd, and it is possible that it is a gourd with holes for eyes and a slit for the mouth, which is used as a substitute for a head. The attitudes of the figures and the changed position of the heads in the last two rows suggest that they represent a head-hunting dance.

The fourth and sixth rows contain alternate male and female figures similar to those of the third row on the front of the jacket, but in these two rows there is below each figure a *kukut burong*, "claws of a bird". The males have a long line with curled ends passing through the glans penis, which [304 832 177] evidently represents a *palang*. According to Brooke Low (Ling Roth, *J.A.I.*, XXII, 1892 (1893), p. 45) the custom of perforating the glans for the permanent insertion of a short rod with a knob at each end, *palang*, was adopted by the Iban from the Kayans. The head of a male figure in the fourth row is labelled *pala engkaramba manang bali*, the head of a *manang bali*, and a male figure in the sixth row is called *engkaramba manang bali*.

The figures in the fifth row are labelled *gambar mensia*, but the head of one of them is called *pala engkaramba*, head of an *engkaramba*; these are essentially similar to the figures in the fifth row on the front of the jacket, except that they have no teeth.

The right sleeve has along its length five *engkaramba anak orang entepa* similar to those on the front and back of the jacket, and also designs: *tabor mata puna*, scattered eyes of pigeons, and *tabor bunga janggai*, scattered flowers of the white pumpkin. The two latter are also scattered over the left sleeve, on which are two other patterns which we do not recall having seen elsewhere.

292 [554] This is evidently a very special kind of *kalambi*, which we may surmise was worn only on particular occasions. Concerning the human figures it is interesting to find that "only women belonging to ancient and honourable families may make *engkaramba* and even they must begin by making other patterns" (Haddon MS.). The *Sea Dyak Dictionary* gives "*Engkramba*, a representation of anything cut out of wood". They are used to prevent harm from coming to crops, etc.

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

PREFACE.

197 THE language of the so-called Sea Dyaks of Sarawak is a dialect of the wide spreading Malay language intermixed with words borrowed from Kayan and, it is surmised, other primitive Bornean races with whom the Dyaks have come in contact.

197 619 It cannot yet be said that the language is that of a Nation. It is the language of a number of tribes who may be conveniently grouped as follows :—

1 {Balau. {Undup.	2 {Saribas. {Skarang.	3 {Batang Ai. {Lemanak.
4 {Sabuyau {Bugau.	5 {Ulu Ai. {Engkair.	[see *Daya*].

These different tribes are, with the exception of the Saribas and Bugau, inhabitants of the Batang Lupar River and its tributaries, and from these tributaries they mostly derive their tribal names such as Sabuyau, Lemanak, Skarang, Undup. It is however necessary to state that in recent years some of these tribes have so increased and spread beyond their ancient limits that there are now said to be as many, if not more, Dyaks living in the Rejang river than in the whole Second Division (a tract of land which with the Batang Lupar includes the Saribas and Kalaka rivers and the area drained by these three rivers).

Each of these tribes has some peculiarities of dialect, and some make use of words quite unknown to other tribes, but we doubt if these peculiarities are as striking as the difference between the speech of a man from Yorkshire and one from Sussex.

192 177 619 The Balau Dyaks, who derive their tribal name from a ridge of low hills about twenty-five miles up the Batang Lupar river, have adopted many words in common use by the Malays and this is not to be wondered at when we call to mind that about half a century ago large numbers of this tribe were gathered together and lived with many Malays upon Banting Hill for the sake of mutual protection against a common foe (Saribas and Skarang Dyaks), and that they have always lived in close proximity to Malays, and further that a large portion of the regular force (the Sarawak Rangers) has been and is still recruited from them. This fact has also no doubt, in some measure, given an additional impulse to their "knowledge" of Malay. The Undup Dyaks, who have always been allied with the Balau tribe in their tribal wars, and who have frequently intermarried with them, certainly possess less knowledge

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

192 of Malay and use fewer Malay words, but there is an increasing
●177 tendency with them to pick up any Malay words they happen
619 to hear used, when in the Rangers or in the courts, and adopt them.

The Saribas and Skarang Dyaks, the keenest hunters after jungle produce (gutta, rotan, etc.) are better off than any other Dyaks and travel long distances, even to the Celebes, in quest of old jars, yet, in spite of their strong trading instincts and their smartness they do not make use of Malay words, when speaking their own tongue, to so great an extent as the two previously mentioned tribes, the reason being perchance, that they, or at all events the Saribas, have always been the dominant race in their river and as such have learnt to look down somewhat upon the Malays.

191 The Sabuyau and Bugau Dyaks can mostly speak Malay; the
619 latter who inhabit the country beyond the Kalingkang range in
177 Netherlands India territory are said to speak it fluently, the reason probably being that they are frequently visited by Kapuas Malay peddlers. The Sabuyau are a dwindling race. Scarcely a dozen families remain in their old home in the Sabuyau river, at the mouth of the Batang Lupar, but the majority live at Lundu where doubtless the purity of their language has suffered much through their close intimacy with their Malay neighbours.

619 The Ulu Batang Ai or Ulu Ai Dyaks, who live further up the
197 Batang Lupar river than any other people, probably speak the purest
177 dialect of the Sea Dyak language, but their accent is harsh and their speech rough sounding and unpleasant compared with that of those who live nearer the sea. From their position they have naturally had little intercourse with Malays until more recent years, and their knowledge of Malay is practically *nil*.

197 The importance of the Sea Dyak language in Sarawak cannot be over-estimated.

It is the language of one of the most numerous races in the country—a race which is increasing and spreading further and further year by year. It is the language of the most energetic and go-ahead of all the native races in the Island of Borneo, and it is a living and growing language.

Throughout the Batang Lupar, Saribas, Kalaka, and Rejang rivers and their tributaries it is par excellence the *trade* language. Nearly all Chinese living in these rivers speak or understand it; indeed if they understand a little Malay, they usually prefer to talk Dyak, for it comes easier and more natural to them to do so, as many are married to Dyak women. The language is familiar to all Malays who live in or near Dyak countries or who *go inland* (*mudik ka Daya*), and even if they are strangers they find they can rapidly acquire a knowledge of this language which is in so many respects similar to their own. Wherever there is a government station of any importance it is garrisoned usually by Rangers and this language there is in daily use.

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

Living as they do near the bazaar, contact with it has necessarily influenced the way of life of these people considerably. All the men have short hair and many of the women have waves. They wear a Malay type of dress or European clothes.

The majority of the people in the house profess Christianity. The majority of children in the house have for many years attended the mission school in Simnaggang. The majority of people in the house are able to read and write. Several members have attained a fairly high standard of education and are employed in Government Service.

• • •

To summarize the background briefly: Rumah Bujak is an average longhouse in the lower Batang Lupar as regards position, standard of construction and state of cleanliness. The people have attained a high level of prosperity on Sea Dayak standards. As a result their standard of living is way ahead of longhouses in many other areas of the Second Division.

DIETARY SURVEY

Method

As a sufficient proportion of the population of the house were able to write, each room was asked to keep a diary of everything they ate and drank at every meal for one week, starting on the 23rd March, 1958. At the end of this period the results were collected and the weight likely to be consumed by an average adult male was assigned to each food commodity. The estimate for rice was the most accurate since it is customary at this longhouse to measure the rice used for each meal in cigarette tins full. A portion of rice cooked for each meal is wasted but as this must be very variable no allowance was made for it; so that as rice forms usually a high proportion of the daily food intake (see below) the results will tend to err on the high side. An attempt was made to estimate the weight of other food commodities consumed without bias, so that errors would be mutually exclusive and not cumulative.

Having estimated the weight of each food commodity, its protein, fat, carbohydrate and calorie content was calculated from

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

/2/ trade and administration, new values are disseminated, people perceive new orientations to power structures, and concepts of time and space are changed as well as settlement patterns.

The recent take-off of Sibu as an urban center and the contemporary movement of Ibans into the town, whether temporarily or more permanently, permit us to deal with a number of questions that have been raised with regard to urbanization in Southeast Asia. For example, what are the effects of urbanization on indigenous society and culture? Is the in-migration of indigenes resulting from and in structural and cultural changes, and if so, what is the nature of these changes? What is the effect of urbanization on traditional and neo-traditional institutions, such as the family, kin-group, longhouse community and form of marriage? What are the factors involved in the decisions of indigenes to move to urban areas? What is the nature of interaction between members of different ethnic groups in rural and urban contexts?

[128] In Part II we shall analyze the adaptation, social organization and culture of the Ibans of this district. While there are many similarities between the Ibans who are subjects of this study and those of the Sut described by Freeman (1955; 1970), there also are important differences reflecting in part the earlier time when Freeman's study [177] was made, and in part the disparate settings. Unlike the far more isolated Ibans of the Sut, who are today in many respects as Freeman

121 found them twenty years ago, the Ibans of the Sibu District have
177 accommodated to numerous influences that have been introduced to them, and especially within the past twenty years.

175 The movement of the Ibans into this district has occurred within
166 the past 125 years. When James Brooke arrived in Sarawak, the movements
177 of the Ibans into the southern tributaries of the Rajang were just beginning. Entering from the south, they soon invaded the land north of the Rajang, driving out or subduing and assimilating the former inhabitants.

In his program of pacification, James Brooke established Fort Brooke in 1862 at the point of the division of the Rajang and Igan Rivers.
[439] Under the protection of the fort, the point soon became a nexus for trade between Chinese, Ibans, Malays, Melanaus and others. From the beginning of the center, Ibans have both served and been served by the trade carried on there.

361 Today, few Ibans in the district live more than two hours travel
177 from the town which is accessible to them by private boats, public launches and ferries, cars, taxis and buses. Their adaptation has been influenced by the development of the town as an administrative center, entrepot, and by acculturation to the values mediated through residents and visitors.

18 Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OCc Sibu

166 178 Although there has been a long association between the Ibans and Sibu, the in-migration of relatively large numbers has taken place only within the past decade. The factors involved in this in-migration are numerous and complex as will become apparent. On the one hand, they are related to the problems of making a living according to the level of new expectations in many rural areas. On the other hand, they include the attractions and amenities of life in the pasar, or trading center, of education, wage-earning and escape from the farm.

121 177 In keeping with the bifocal perspective of this study, the approach taken is a regional one, i.e., one in which the development of Sibu is seen in the context of the area from where its resources have come, and in the interplay between inhabitants of the urban center and rural hinterland. The rationale for this approach is that the emergence and development of Sibu can be understood only within the setting of the area from where products extracted from forest, farm and garden have supported the life of the urban residents. The townspeople, in turn, have supplied not only the goods needed and wanted by rural residents but also have interacted with them in an exchange of values and norms which have been influential in the structural and cultural changes that have occurred among rural residents.

121 While the attempt to take the regional approach may appear presumptuous, deviating from more traditional anthropological approaches,

136 in Iban augury, though there are few tuai burong (augurs) found in this
[707] District and bird-reading is rapidly disappearing.
[178]

136 Many of the streams and rivers contain relatively plentiful
226 supplies of fish, shrimp and snails which constitute the principal source of meat and protein for the Ibans. The presence of several species is dependent upon the conditions of the water, whether high or low, and the techniques for catching the fish are adapted accordingly.

136 According to information supplied by the Sarawak Museum, there are only three species of poisonous snakes among the numerous reptiles
[237] in Sarawak. These are the cobra, krait and adder. Several sub-species of python are found, the most common being the ular sawa (Python) and ular ripong (Python curtus), both of which are highly prized for their meat and the former for its skin which is preserved and sold to shop-
[825] keepers or tourists. Occasionally, bayak (monitor lizards, family Varanidae) are captured by Ibans and Chinese, and either eaten or sold being valued as a source of strength.

B. Economic Bases of Sibu

177 Sibu has been built out of the forests of the Third Division.
439 The town has developed as an entrepot where imported goods have been exchanged for local forest products, the most important of which are jungle produce, rubber, pepper and timber. It is possible to distinguish three periods in the history of Sibu in each of which revenue

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

177 439 was derived first from jungle produce, then rubber, and more recently, timber. Jungle produce provided the main source of income up until about 1910, when rubber took over until about 1964 when its primacy was supplanted by timber. Jungle produce and rubber continue to contribute to the economy of indigenes and Chinese, but during the past two decades Sibu's take-off has been based on the exploitation of timber.

1. Jungle Produce

176 439 314 For centuries the people of Borneo supplied mixed forest produce - rhinoceros horns for their alleged aphrodisiac qualities, kingfisher feathers, bezoar stones, damar (resin), camphor from the Borneo camphor tree, and casques of the helmeted hornbill, once more valuable than jade - to Chinese traders who brought beads, iron, crockery and the enormous earthenware jars (tajau) found as heirlooms in every longhouse. Chinese and Malay merchants penetrated the Rajang Valley long before permanent settlements were built, for this region had an abundance of the forest treasures, waiting only for collection.[7]

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[7] On the treasures of the Rajang forests, the Ranee Margaret wrote: ". . .The Chinese are supposed to have been the first to discover camphor, and Sibu bazaar is one of the principal ports for it in Sarawak. . . The Rajang River is rich in many articles of export; indiarubber, gutta-percha, beeswax, mats, ebony, beads, and geliga or bezoar stones, the latter being found in the stomach of three species of monkeys." (1913-255).

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

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The jungle products originally were collected by the various indigenous groups of the interior, and the collection still is largely confined to these groups. These goods were traded or bartered with Malays and Chinese for salt, cloth, iron and luxury items at coastal stations and were related to the tradition of bejalai or the adventur- [177] ous status-validating trips of the Iban male. After the introduction of money, the sale of such products was important to the indigenes because it was the single way they had of obtaining hard cash, a value quickly accepted by them. Thus there developed a symbiotic relationship between the Ibans and other indigenes who supplied the forest products, the Chinese and, to a lesser extent, the Malays, who supplied essential items such as salt, iron, and cloth, and luxury goods.

000 Similarly, the outstations of the Brooke administration were largely dependent upon revenue derived from duties on the export of jungle products. The outstations were expected to be self-supporting and to contribute towards the support of the central administration in Kuching, and it is no overstatement that the Brooke Raj was supported from this export trade.

The earliest readily available reports on trade are for 1871, when Sarawak included the territory from Tanjong Datu to Tanjong

314 "a good nut-year is a great event in Sarawak and provides a literal windfall for the native tribes,"

[439] and, it should be added, for the Chinese shopkeepers, for the "windfall" quickly ends up with the Chinese merchants who have staked the illipe nut gatherers and collect their loans, or purchase the nuts while selling outboard motors, sewing machines, gold and other valuables to the Ibans.[12]

[423] [439] Sarawak abounds in fruits, and the trees are held under customary rights. Ibans and other indigenous groups collect the fruits when they bear, and either sell them to Chinese hawkers or bring them to town to sell. We will give more attention to this in Chapter Four.

2. Rubber

175 177 249 Para rubber (Hevea brasiliensis) was first introduced into Sarawak in 1882 when Bishop Charles Hose planted one seedling in Kuching.

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314 243 [12]The relative abundance of forest products and especially illipe nuts when they are bearing has been a significant factor in the casualness with which many indigenese approach rice-cultivation. Prior to the planting of rubber and pepper in this District, men took off to collect jungle produce in the period between planting and harvesting rice. Bailey described how Malays in the Lingga area gave up rice-cultivation for collecting and fishing, finding the task easier and more pleasant (SG 2 June, No. 437, 1902). Sometimes rice has been neglected to the extent that crops are lost, as one Resident complained: "What I feared might happen has come to pass, the padi having been deserted by the Dyaks for the easily collected and remunerative engkabang crop, with the result that the majority of the Dyaks are short of rice and will have to obtain their supplies from other sources. They have plenty of money and will be able to obtain supplies. . . "SG 1 August, No. 839, 1923). Critics of Ibans who favor collecting over rice-cultivation fail to note that the rewards of the former are much more certain at the times when produce is available.

A, [Sarawak Gazette--Analyst]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

175 177 249 The potential of para rubber went unrecognized until about the turn of the century when the Rajah, foreseeing the economic importance of the new exotic, established Experimental Rubber Plantations at Segu and Satap in the First Division. By 1908, 15,000 seeds were obtained at Segu and 44,000 at Satap. Eighteen thousand of these seeds were sent to Sibu.

Experiments in rubber planting had been carried out in the Sibu area from the first years of this century. Pengulu Dalam Munan, a famous Iban war-leader, had planted a garden of the local getah rian (Isonandra gutta) with which the Government also was experimenting at that time (SG 448, 2 May, 1903). According to one of the early settlers of Sibu, Ling Wen Tsung, para rubber was introduced into the Sibu area by Wong Ging Huo, a Methodist minister who brought rubber seedlings to Sarawak after an Annual Conference in Singapore.[13] Wong's trees were producing by 1911, when the price of rubber was "700 dollars per picul," according to Ling.[14] Altogether, Wong planted 3,000 trees at Sungai Mawah and shortly thereafter, Kuo Yeu Tiok planted 1,000 trees at Ensurai.

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[13] "In Singapore he saw rubber seedlings used for the Malayan industry, costing 700 dollars per picul. So he went to Malaya and bought some seeds. He brought the rubber seeds in a particular way. He put the seeds in a box filled with coal ash and placed the rubber seeds in the ashes. In this way he brought them to Kuching and Sibu and after a journey lasting about five weeks all the seeds became plants." (Ling 1966-28).

[14] Ling writes: "He made so much that he could not carry all the coins home. This led others to follow his example as they said, 'rubber trees make money'" (ibid.).

175 177 249 The Ibans were quick to take up rubber planting and, encouraged by boom prices in 1910, engaged in planting gardens along the Batang Rajang, Batang Laba'an and Batang Igan, as well as on land off a number of tributaries. By the mid-1920's, more than 100,000 acres of rubber had been planted in Sarawak, and when the Great Depression ushered in the era of restriction,[15] the total area devoted to rubber exceeded 220,000 acres.

175 656 Rubber planting in Sarawak was done on small-holdings by Chinese and indigenous farmers. Charles Brooke adamantly refused to permit the development of rubber estates by outsiders and in an editorial of 1970[A] wrote:

> "Rich companies pay their managers ruinous salaries and no doubt will soon make use of manuers which are always dangerous in being liable to germinate insects and vermin which often cause disease and failure in the trees and crop. Sarawak would be more satisfied with a more gradual development, with less capital expended and smaller losses in the case of failure."

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[656] [15] State-wide tapping holidays were ordered every fourth month according to terms of the International Rubber Regulation Agreement of 1934, which Sarawak joined under considerable pressure from the British Colonial Office. This method of restriction was not effective and a "coupon system" was introduced in 1937, under which each owner was given coupons entitling him to market a specified amount of rubber, dependent on the size of his holding.

[A] [The author presumably means 1870--Analyst]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

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> "'. . . These figures are not wholly attributable to failure of crops of increase of immigration, but largely due to partial or complete abandonment of their farming life by large sections of the natives of the country in favour of rubber planting. . .'"
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> "'. . . So long as it pays the natives better to plant rubber and buy their rice, they will naturally prefer to do less hard work on their padi farms than in previous years.'"

In addition to making rubber production a viable economic alternative to small holders, the Rajah's policy was influential on the patterns of movement of the shifting Iban cultivators. By making it possible and encouraging each family to plant its own rubber estate, rather than allowing companies to plant large gardens to be worked either by plantation workers living in company quarters, as in Sumatra, or commuting, as in parts of Malaya, the Rajah made ownership of real property and interests therein a new fact in Iban adaptation. In contrast to the high degree of mobility characteristic of shifting cultivators, owners of rubber gardens are more sedentary, residing in proximity to the trees they tap daily. As one informant said, Kaki kami nyau lekat tegal getah ("Our feet were stuck because of rubber," Anyau Bakit, 16 September, 1969. In some areas, for example, Bawang Assan, Ibans built permanent longhouses for the first time as they planted their rubber gardens. The eight-door rumah papan built close to the present-day site of Rumah Riang, was a novelty because of its

175 permanence and because it was the first longhouse in memory built of
249 planks.[18] In other areas, for example Oya Road and specifically
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342 Rumah Tindit and Rumah Meruan, the advent of rubber has been influential
177 in the fragmentation of longhouses which have been abandoned as individual families moved away to be nearer to their gardens.[19]

249 Adaptation to rubber production was a shift in the value
177 system and social structure of the Iban community. For, whereas pre-
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556 viously successful rice cultivation was a requisite for any Iban male seeking recognition and upward mobility, rubber planting opened a new way to wealth and acquisition of economic security, so much desired
243 and a sure sign of the blessings of the gods. The conflict between
249 the traditional padiculture and rubber growing was expressed in a
539 wide-spread story that rubber ate rice.[20] According to one version,

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[18] Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, longhouses were impermanent structures, built of softwood posts, split bamboo floors, bark walls and thatched roofs, according to several informants (Unchat Chok, Tuai Rumah Gaong).

[19] The ceremonial importance of the longhouse continues and
[796] bilik - families return occasionally for gawai and other ritual activities.

[20] Pringle describes a similar story among the Saribas Ibans
[114] (1970-203), Freeman among the Balleh Ibans (1955-105), and Geddes among the Land Dayaks.

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"Aing of Telok Bulat, Binatang, put his padi out to dry on a mat on the tanju', and went off to his farm. When he returned, the rice was all gone - not a kernel was left. The next day, the same thing happened. As there was no strong wind on either day, Aing was suspicious, and on the third day, sneaked around to the back of his house and up into the sadau from where he could keep an eye on his rice. He noticed a slight movement and saw the branches of a rubber tree bending toward the rice, closer and closer, until the rubber leaves - notice, they are shaped like a naga (dragon)- ate the rice."

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As a result of the story and other cultural pressures, an unknown number of Ibans cut their rubber trees down, a move that they were to regret later. Those who refused to destroy their rubber trees, such as the fathers of Unchat Chok and Jonathan Bangau, prominent Iban businessmen in Sibu, reaped large profits during the periods when prices were high and through wise investment (well-advised by Chinese friends) became wealthy.[21]

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Another far-reaching effect of the Rajah's policy on rubber was the development of a state-wide trading network to handle the exportation of rubber, involving Ibans, Chinese, Malays and others in production and, until recently, principally Chinese in the position of middlemen. Until 1964, when it was displaced by timber, rubber was Sarawak's chief export product for almost thirty years, and the network

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[21] Chok Apai Unchat was a close friend of Wong father of Mr. Wong Soon Kai, a Sibu-born surgeon, and through the elder Wong's advice bought a shophouse on Island Road that is now the property of his son.

175 develop to transmit the rubber from the planters to the major exporters.
177 Until the take-off in the timber trade, the importing of foodstuffs,
439 cloth, ironwares, outboard motors and numerous other goods, and the exporting of rubber may be described as the backbone of the State's economy, necessary to the rise of trading classes among the Chinese, Malays and Ibans,[22] to State revenue, and to capital accumulations which later permitted investment in heavy equipment for the exploitation of Sarawak's major natural resource-timber.

439 T'ien, writing on the nature of this trade network which emerged
441 to handle rubber and foodstuffs states that,
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> "grocery import and rubber import[A], indeed, be regarded as obverse and reverse of one process. The system of credit which keeps the rural economy going depends. . . on the exchange of rubber for daily provisions. The rural grocery shops have a double function: as distributors of provisions and as collectors of rural produce, especially rubber. The urban grocery shops also play a double, or rather triple, role: they retail goods to urban customers, but they are also the sources from which the rural grocers obtain their stocks, and at the same time, middlemen between rural shops and exporters in the rubber trade."

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[22] "Without exported rubber and imported groceries almost the whole of the Chinese population of the Colony would exist only at the level of subsistence agriculture. . . " (T'ien 1956-54). Similarly, the traders of other ethnic groups

[A] [Presumably the author means "export"--Analyst]

443 463 177 [439] As stated above, until recently most of the middlemen in the trade network were Chinese. Within the past decade or so, however, an increasing number of Ibans have opened village shops, some quite successfully. The shopkeepers in rural areas who have been able to make a go of their businesses have been those who have not depended on trade alone but with their families have continued to grow rice, to assure their self-sufficiency, and to tap rubber, to have an additional source of income besides that from the shop. The shopkeepers who have looked to trade alone have invariably failed, for the rural traffic in rubber and foodstuffs is inadequate to carry full-time traders.

175 648 314 The history of rubber trading may be described most easily as extremely variable. This is due to several reasons. First, the local trade is part of the world market, and activities are correlative with going market prices. At times when there has been a great demand for rubber on the world market, trees have been tapped frenetically, latex molded and pressed into sheets, and rushed to the shops. When prices have dropped, tapping declines correspondingly. For example, in the peak years immediately following the First World War, the price on para went to $100 per picul in 1919, only to drop $15 by 1921 owing to a glut. Rubber tapping stopped temporarily. Again, in 1947, no rubber was to be found in the Sibu pasar because of the low price it was

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

000 The chief species extracted in the pre-war period were meranti' and kapor. Interestingly, ramin was considered useless except for firewood. [461] [177] Given the small scale of the timber industry during this period, it made little impact on the lives of the Ibans and other indigenes, neither offering employment nor making the concessions required to gain access to timber rights.

In a classic example of understatement, the editors of the Sarawak Annual Report, 1947, wrote:

> "During the course of the year two ships put into the Rejang River to load timber for Australia direct, and one vessel loaded a cargo of firewood for Hong Kong. These are comparatively new trades and are likely to expand."[28]

In 1947, the estimated total production of timber was 1,116,850 cubic feet of which 284,950 cubic feet were exported.

The spectacular take-off of the timber industry in Sarawak and the related development of Sibu as an urban center was due to several different factors. First, ramin, (Gonstylus bancanus), formerly considered useless except for firewood, was found to be an excellent timber for moldings, furniture and toys, among other things. Ramin is

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[28] "There are at present no large timber enterprises operating in the Colony and 19 medium-sized sawmills supply domestic needs and a surplus for export to neighbouring territories. There is a demand for prime lumber from the United Kingdom and Australia, but any expansion of this trade has been hindered in the past by the inability of the mills to find an outlet for lower grade lumber." (ibid., p. 43.)

Employment in the timber trade has greatly increased the buying power of both indigenes and Chinese who have in turn passed their resources on to Sibu shopkeepers.[35]

In addition to employment, Ibans have benefitted from concessions paid by timber companies for rights to fell "communal forests" (SG 31 August, 1953). Gifts, in the form of drinks and money (kantau), are made to the tuai rumah and through him to the tuai bilik. When agreement on terms is reached, the tuai rumah involved will present the request on behalf of the company - and at the expense of the company[36] - to Government for a logging permit, and the money paid by the company will be divided between the pengulu, tuai rumah and tuai bilik.[37]

A fourth factor in the development of Sibu as related to the timber industry has been the investment of local people in residences and the booming construction industry. The expansion of the timber industry has gone hand-in-glove with the building trade in Sibu's rise to affluence,[38] and again must be seen in perspective of the political

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

[35] An increasing number of Ibans are opening savings accounts in the Sibu banks. For example, a leading bank handles an estimated 3,000 savings accounts for Ibans.

[36] In but one instance, two tuai rumah flew to Kuching and were given M$200 belanja luar ("pocket-money") by the company on whose behalf they were requesting a permit.

[37] According to a reliable informant, of every ten dollars, six goes to the pengulu, two to the tuai rumah, and the remainder is divided among the tuai bilik equally.

[38] According to a statement published in the Borneo Bulletin, 8 May, 1971, p. 23, a Sibu insurance agent places the number of millionaires in Sibu at "about 100," with 10 multi-millionaires, the wealth in almost every case coming form timber, building, or land.

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177 Although the pepper industry remains largely a Chinese preserve, many Ibans have realized that pepper is a supplement to rubber as a source of cash income and, where soil conditions are suitable, have planted pepper gardens. In this District, the areas where pepper is planted include Salim, Durin, Naman, Sungai Teku, Sungai Maung, Aup and Bukit Lan.

Pepper planting is a new venture to most Ibans who have been attracted to this speculative crop because of the profits it yields as well as because it is a substitute for slumping rubber. The Iban does not have sufficient capital to plant the vines in large numbers, and in most cases plants between 150 and 350 vines. He must purchase the vines, [654] belian posts (tuat) on which they climb, and fertilizers. The Agriculture Department helps with herbicides and pesticides. The Iban also does not have the experience that the Chinese brings to pepper gardening, and his plants suffer accordingly. His inexperience manifests itself as he plants in poorly drained soil, does not practice balanced fertilization, or sprays his plants with pesticides that are too strong, [433] in more than one case causing the leaves to fall off. Consequently, the Iban planter realizes a yield of between four and five katis per vine, whereas the Chinese averages between eight to ten katis per vine.

244 Vines begin bearing after three years, and harvesting is done annually between May and August. After the berries are picked, they are

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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000 Charles Brooke originally wanted to settle the Foochow settlers at Kanowit, which was not only the leading bazaar of the Rejang, but also was situated in a hilly area, whereas Sibu is located on very low [177] lying and swampy land. Even after the founding of Fort Brooke, Kanowit continued to be the more important town for it was the government's administrative center for the Rejang, commanding as it did control of the Kanowit River with its troublesome Iban population. Again, the topographical features already noted made Kanowit the more favorable site. One early visitor to the Rejang wrote that,

> "Sibu can hardly be called a pleasant place, although there is a certain grandeur in the immense extent of water, the endless forest, and especially the wide expanse of horizon, which in Borneo is usually so limited by the exuberance of the vegetation."

Despite objections and other factors, Wong felt that Kanowit was too far from the sea, and that Sibu was a more central place. The first settlers, 603 in all, arrived in Sibu in 1901, and they were followed by another group of 550 who arrived on June 7, 1902. They were given land at Sungai Merah (now a part of the Sibu Urban area) and provided with <u>atap</u> houses. Because of insufficient land at Sungai Merah, some of the colonists were permitted to move to other areas near Sibu, including Ensurai, Satit and Sungai Nawang.

In 1901, 500 Cantonese men arrived to plant pepper at Kwant Tung below Sadit. Frictions developed between them and the Foochows, and the

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

000 Sarawak with the second group of settlers in 1901, has described the hardships faced by the Foochows. The jungle had to be cleared, a considerable task to people unacquainted with the jungle and unskilled in clearing it for farms. According to Lin, the neighbouring Ibans were uncooperative and viewed the Foochows as encroachers on their lands. The agricultural techniques used in China did not work well in the deep lowlands of Sibu. Many of the settlers were not farmers, Wong Nai Siong himself knowing little about agriculture. It is little wonder that of the first 1,000 colonists brought in, between 100 and 200 either died or left by 1905 for Kuching, Singapore, Penang or Sitiawan. Lin writes:

> "Life was very hard in the early days. The people used Chinese methods of padi planting and used ploughs in the padi fields. On the high land sugar cane, potatoes, etc., were grown. The padi did not grow well and the price of potatoes dropped from 5 dollars per pikul to 30 cents per pikul. All the bachelors then left, only those with families continued to struggle on. As the land was new there were many insects, wild pigs, snakes and birds to ravage the crops. . . Many people died of fever."

The settlers did not help solve the problem of the rice shortage, and while occasionally good harvests were reported (e.g., SG No. 447, 2 June, 1902), severe shortages continued to plague the area until the 1920's. After his assumption of the position of kangchew (headman) of the Foochows, James Hoover, an American Methodist missionary, wrote an article on "Cultivation of Rice in the Rejang." This article, which

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

000 The first group arrived in May, 1912, and were settled below Sibu on [464] the right bank of the Igan near Sungai Merah. They used part of the money they had brought with them to employ Ibans from the Aup area for felling the jungles. The Henghuas were more successful in rice cultivation than the Foochows had been, raising enough for their own consumption but rarely having any surpluses.[46] In addition, they planted rubber and grew vegetables, which they were able to sell because of the great demand in the Sibu pasar (SG No. 627, 1 May, 1913).

175 The settling of several thousand Chinese among the Ibans and 177 Malays of the Rejang raised several problems. One of the major ones which soon arose, and to this day is unsolved and a source of tremendous anxiety to Government officials, was that of land relations. There was a tendency for the colonists, especially the Foochows, to leave the areas allotted for settlement and take up land on the outside as squatters. This tendency in part was due to the inadequacy of the areas allotted to them, in part due to their desire to develop lands that appeared to them unclaimed, in part a lack of understanding of indigenous attitudes towards land, and in part, due to the absence of any clear and comprehensive land law.

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[46] The Resident's report says that the Henghuas raised enough rice to supply Sibu (SG No. 674, 16 April, 1913), but the settler, Ling Kai Cheng states emphatically that this was not the case (interview 23 September, 1971).

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423 Traditionally, the Ibans and other indigenes maintained that land was held with usufruct rights in perpetuity by the descendants of the pioneer who cleared the land, or persons to whom they gave [671] usufruct rights. Under Iban adat, such land could not be alienated by Government nor acquired by squatters, such as the Chinese. Whether or not the land was used, they still maintained usufruct rights to it.

175 177 The Third Division reports of the first three decades of this century contain numerous accounts of land disputes, caused by Chinese encroachment on what appeared to them to be empty land.[47] In some cases, the Chinese rented land from the Ibans, for example, in the Assan opposite Pengulu Abas' house (SG No. 817, 1 October, 1921). In other instances, the saw "empty" land and took it over (SG No. 862, 1 July, 1925), resulting in complaints that,

> "Foochow Chinese are encroaching on their land at Sungei Merah; the matter will be looked into."

In still other situations, the Ibans,

> "agreed to give Chinese 300 acres at Rantau Panjang for farming purposes."

In some cases, however, hostilities broke out between the Ibans who resented the invasions of the Chinese, and the newcomers.

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[47] See, for example, SG No. 441, 1902-201; No. 419, 1903-124; No. 813, 1921-111; No. 862, 1925-169; No. 880, 1927-15; No. 918, 1930-75; No. 840, 1932; No. 1002, 1937-74; No. 1331, 1969-13-15.

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"These constant disputes led to eight Foochows being attacked by Binatang Dayaks. Three of the Chinese were wounded and all their property were (sic) looted."

More will be said on the subject of land when we deal with communal relations, suffice it here to note that in August, 1909, the Rajah issued a special land order for the Rejang, in which Ibans, Malays, and Chinese were allowed to take out grants for their holdings, thereby greatly enhancing the value of their property (at least in the view of Government, which benefitted by revenue from fees paid). Special areas were set aside as Chinese areas and, while many did register their lands, others joined the ranks of the squatters. Some Ibans steadfastly refused to take out such grants,[48] and in some cases, such as those of the Bawang Assan Ibans who had planted their rubber at Bukit Lan, they consequently were forced by Government to remove from the land.

A willingness by indigenes to sell their land to Chinese for the benefits of ready cash caused tremendous concern to Government officers. A number of regulations attempted to remedy the situation but with mixed success (SGG 2 January, 1915). Even today, when Chinese are still technically restricted from holding or acquiring land in the Native Zone,

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[48] They also refused to pay an annual assessment which the Government announced in 1911 (SGG 1 June, 1909).

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195 but numerous ways are found to circumvent this restriction.[49]
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Near the end of his reign, Charles Brooke became very concerned with the Iban's proclivity to sell their land to any and all takers, and in a moving speech before Council Negri on 17 August, 1915, the aging Rajah delivered a warning to the Malays and indigenes to treasure their land, to avoid at all costs allowing foreign speculators and exploiters gaining control of the land. But, his fear at the time was not so much of Chinese encroachment as the possible appearance of a European planter class in Sarawak (SGG 1 September, 1915), whom he feared for the threat they posed to his position as absolute monarch.

000 The demand of the Chinese in Sarawak for land still is a volatile political issue of the first magnitude.[50] The Chinese, who form about one-third of the total population, can buy only land classified as Mixed Zone Land (4,000 square miles), under existing laws. As more than three-quarters of Mixed Zone Land is either held under customary tenure and is therefore Native Customary Land or is unsuitable

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[49] The Report of The Land Commission, 1962 recommends "that all that is needed for the protection of the native interests is a simple law to the effect that 'no native shall sell, lease, charge or in anyway dispose of or deal with his land or any right or interest in it' except with the consent of the Resident" (1963-16). According to one source, this consent has been obtained on occasion by appraising the Resident of debts incurred by an Iban to a Chinese, the transfer of land being made in lieu of payment of debt.

[50] To date, Government has not touched the outdated system of Land Laws.

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000 pepper produced in the District.[53] The Hokkiens are a minority group in Sibu, but are important in the grocery trade. The Henghuas are found primarily in rural areas, where they produce rubber and vegetables. Those Henghuas engaged in trade in Sibu have been mainly active in mechanical and repair shops, specializing in the maintenance of bicycles, motorcycles, and cars.[54]

175 177 During the years of the expansion of rubber production, economic ties were strengthened between Sibu and the hinterland, by the building of small shophouses in locations accessible to rural residents. Because of the possible outbreak of violence, the shops were located on the main rivers near the mouths of tributaries. These shops exchanged jungle produce and rubber for food, the acid needed for processing rubber or jelutong, and, over the years, an increasingly large inventory of necessary and luxury items.[55] In this way, small villages grew up along

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[53] The Cantonese are particularly numerous in Sarikei and Miri, where they have taken up pepper production, labor and artisan activities.

[54] As might be expected, there are exceptions to generalizations about occupations of dialect groups. For example, members of the Tnay family, Henghuas from Sungai Teku, share in a travel agency in Sibu and Kuching, and recently obtained a place for another member, a young woman, with Malaysia-Singapore Airways in Singapore.

[55] The Durin pasar numbers about one dozen shops, including coffee shops and grocery stores, selling everything from salt and matches to V.S.O.P. Brandy.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

the Rejang and Igan Rivers at Durin, Salim, Assan, Penasu, Ensurai and Bukit Lan. Gradually, as Government was able to give more protection and a greater degree of security in rural areas, Chinese shopkeepers penetrated the tributaries, in some cases going as far up as the last longhouse, farming and growing rubber, fruit and vegetables as well as acting as middlemen in the rural trade.[56]

The Foochow domination of trade and commerce in the Sibu District is due in part to their overwhelming members. As indicated in Table 9 on the following page, by 1947, their total number in both rural and urban areas was almost three times that of all other Chinese. In the rural area, the Foochows were six times as numerous as the next largest group, the Cantonese. And in the urban area, they were more than twice as many as the Hokkien, second to them in numbers.

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[56] The recent increase in terrorism and the general insecurity that has accompanied it has prompted the movement of rural residents, especially Chinese, into Sibu. Between the time when the First and Second Stages of the 1970 Census were taken in the Sibu Rural District, almost 1,800 Chinese moved from the rural areas into Sibu. The First Stage showed a total of 32,478 Chinese in the Sibu Rural District. The Second Stage, taken four months later, showed only 30,683. A majority of these people moved into Sibu, according to Urban District Council and Education Department officials, who have been concerned with their placement in work and their children in schools. At the same time, and unrelated to this, the rise of a new image and ethnic consciousness among Ibans has resulted in the supplanting of Chinese by Iban shopkeepers in several areas; e.g., Ulu Durin Kiba.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

000 rendered to members of the same association and persons or groups who may be permitted entry into a particular form of business or type of employment. By manipulation of the same system of relationships, it is possible to deny access to productive means and goods to non-members or persons who pose a threat to members of the association.

The networks of relationships exist both hierarchically and horizontally. Hierarchically, trade in Sarawak is characterized at every level by partron client or creditor - debtor relationships. For example, a rural shopkeeper extends credit to fellow Chinese and Ibans, advancing foodstuffs and other goods in exchange for rubber and other products. In almost every instance, the customers stand in a situation of perpetual debt: daily taking cooking oil, salt, sardines or some other commodity, while paying towards the debt when able (or when they want to).[58] The rural shopkeepers, in turn, receive credit from larger merchants in Sibu, to whom they also are in debt. And the larger merchants stand in a client relationship to suppliers from either Singapore

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[58] The overextension of debts of break-down of relations between any pair in the patron-client situation can be financially ruinous. More than one shopkeeper has gone out of business because he could not collect his debts. As one who has been fairly successful said, "You have to impress upon the customer how much he needs you, for if you go out of business, there may be no other shop from which he can buy." Though the ground rules are generally understood by players, still traders at every level can be ruined unless the contracts are honored. One well-known timber tycoon of the Third Division found it expedient to move his home and office from a Rejang town to Kuching when debts owing to him exceeded M$40,000. "I knew I could never collect them," he said, "and the best way to maintain good relations and not lose any more money was to move to Kuching."

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000 equipment, removal of logs to a main river, and the rafting of logs to a sawmill or export center. This knowledge is absolutely essential to anyone entering into timber operations, and has been acquired from long experience. Without such knowledge, a man cannot predict whether a stand of timber can be cut profitably, and few would want to risk the millions required to undertake the operations.[63]

* 177 441 At a lower level of finance, the Chinese have managed to maintain a somewhat looser control both in the rural and urban areas, because of their longer experience of financing and bookkeeping. An important fact of inter-ethnic cooperation is that behind every successful, and I stress successful, Iban shopkeeper, there stands a Chinese advisor. Many an Iban has tried and failed, both independently and through Government sponsored and advised cooperatives. For without the most knowledgeable direction of the Chinese advisor, the non-Chinese faces a discouraging maze of business to be negotiated.

000 In summary, the epithet "New Foochow" is not wholly inappropriate for Sibu, for the Foochow settlers and descendants have built this entrepot upon the trade and commerce that they have carried on. Like the Ibans

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[63] The Government is considering opening forests above the Pelagus Rapids, a particularly long, rough stretch of the Rejang River above Kapit, but is wholly dependent for knowledge of whether this can be done at a profit upon the local loggers.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

000 they are relative new-comers to the District, the most aggressive and achievement-oriented of their people, a factor that is important for understanding the interplay between the two groups.

177 F. Inter-Ethnic Relations

The relations between the major ethnic groups in Sarawak have been marked by strong ties and a relatively high frequency of contacts, in both rural and urban settings. Malays, Ibans, Chinese and Europeans have live in close proximity, and the social networks of members of each community have included ties with members of others. Unlike the situations existing in some other parts of Southeast Asia, for example, Indonesia, where physical proximity has resulted in an intensification of ethnocentrism with a rigidity of ethnic boundaries and attitudes, the relations among the peoples of Sarawak have tended to be more open-ended with respect to one another.

439 1. Economic Relations

For as long as memory serves and records are available, Ibans and Malays have maintained trading relations with one another. The former provided rice in exchange for salt and fish in a barter economy (*besilih empa'*, "swapping eats"). Exchange relations tended to become fixed between individuals and families, so that contractual dyadic relations or partnerships, termed *udong* (or, "brother"), developed. These partnerships

177 During the administration of the Third Rajah, the Sarawak Native Officer corps was comprised exclusively of Malays. Neither indigenes nor Chinese were recruited for service until shortly before the Second World War. The Malays sometimes exploited their positions to maximum benefit, and many older Ibans still chafe under memories of Malay officers who visited longhouses with demands for rice, chickens and eggs. On this point, one old man said,

> "We didn't want to give to them but what could we do? They were the Tuan Rajah's representatives" (Ka' enda' meri' ka sida', nadai ko' enggau? Sida' ia tak seruan tuan rajah).

Generally speaking, however, the relations between Ibans and Malays have been based upon balanced reciprocity, with amicable feelings largely obtaining.

439 Chinese and Iban economic relations characteristically have been of a patron-client nature. In early trading contacts, the Chinese were dependent upon Ibans and other indigenes for the supply of jungle produce on which their livelihood was based. With the establishment of trading centers such as the Sibu pasar, exchange tended to become fixed between the Iban client and his Chinese patron (towkay), rather than an Iban dealing with a number of different businessmen. The patron-client [453] relationship has proved to be of mutual advantage to both parties. In time of need (maya suntok), the Iban can obtain credit or even a cash advance from his towkay. When he has marketable goods, he is assured of

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177 425 Another incident of economic cooperation between Chinese and Ibans occurs when the latter purchase land in the Native Area on behalf of their towkay or friend. For example, in one case with which I am acquainted, an Iban has bought five lots of land in his own name but with money provided by a Chinese friend. It is quite illegal for the Chinese to hold land in the Native Area, but through this subterfuge based upon trust between the two men, it has been carried out.

177 At the time of gawai and other events of moment, Chinese friends often are invited as guests, and they in turn reciprocate when they hold feasts. For instance, at the time of Gawai Dayak ("Dayak Festival Day," June 1), Chinese may be seen visiting longhouses and bringing with them gifts of cream crackers, drinks and other foodstuffs. When a Chinese family gives a feast on the occasion of a birthday or wedding, Ibans may be invited, depending upon the relations between the persons involved.

The other ethnic group which has important economic relations with the Iban, and about whom we have written [illegible] obliquely, is the orang putih (Caucasians, principally British and Americans). From the time of James Brooke until the present, a vast majority of Ibans have looked upon the orang putih as representatives of the most technologically developed societies in the world, holders of vast riches. And the attitudes and actions of many orang putih have done little to

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18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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177 change the Iban view. According to Harriet MacDougall's diary, the First Rajah wrote to her husband, then Bishop of Kuching, to "give the Dyaks anything they want." Despite the strictures to which his administration was subject, the Second Rajah maintained a patronizing attitude towards his citizens.

It generally is true that orang putih who live and work in Sarawak, whether employees of Government, company or church, are relatively much wealthier than a majority of Ibans. There are some exceptions among wealthy Ibans, but even the peripatetic hippie who wanders through Sarawak, the Peace Corpsman, missionary or anthropologist[66] who is "going to live as the people," has sources of support and a security that few Ibans can enjoy.

Thus, the orang putih in most situations has been in a superordinate position. He has been employee or patron, advisor, or consultant, but always independent, from the Iban's point of view. The orang putih has been responsible for considerable amounts of money being introduced into the country through the various agencies to which he has been attached, and it is not surprising that many Ibans still tend to

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[66] In one instance, the Ibans recall with wistful fondness the stay of an anthropologist with them "for we ate better during those days, off his provisions, than we ever have eaten." As the people live?

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

177 confuse in their pronunciation the words tuan ("master, lord") and Tuhan ("God").[67]

2. Settlement Patterns

000 The Sibu District is marked by an absence of ethnic wards. While the Malay population tends to be clustered along what formerly was Sungai Sibu and presently is Kampong Nyabor Road and extends down the bank of the Igan to Kampong Hilir, there are no regulations compelling them to live in that area and they are as free as their funds permit and hearts desire to move elsewhere. In fact, a number of Malay families live outside the kampong, some who are employed by Government or companies in furnished quarters. Within the kampong are to be found non-Malays: Ibans, Chinese, and even an occasional orang putih.

177 369

The Chinese population has been located predominantly within one or two miles of the banks of the main rivers, the Rejang, Igan and Leba'an. Notable exceptions are those shopkeepers who moved into areas near longhouse communities, with whom they traded. The opening of the Oya Road and its branches has permitted a number of Chinese to move to land adjacent the roadways, some being purchased individually and other occupied under Government Scheme, as at Sibintek.

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[67] On one occasion while travelling with the late Pengulu Giman, he introduced the writer as petara ("god"), going on to explain that how else could you refer to people who had done so much technologically and were so wealthy (sic). Members of the younger generation are not so free in acts of deification.

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18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

000 The main part of the urban Chinese population is located in the pasar proper, living over the shophouses where they conduct their businesses, or occupying apartments built along the main roads and their tributaries. Within these predominantly Chinese areas, it is common for Ibans to rent rooms and live side-by-side with Chinese neighbors or, as we have noted, for Iban transients to put with their Chinese patrons.

369 The rise in incidence of terrorist activities in the past two years has prompted some Ibans and Chinese alike to abandon their homes in rural areas and move into Sibu. The number of Chinese moving between rural and urban areas varies according to the security conditions.[68] Ibans show a greater reticence to return once they have left their homes, as the members of the longhouse of Sungai Jih, Kanowit District, who have left their homes and crops to take residence in the Sungai Antu Industrial Estate.

000 The European and American communities have lived in quarters furnished by their employers: Government, church, company and Peace Corps. There has been no cloistering of orang putih in a single area, though some companies have built more secluded compounds than other organizations. There is, however, no settlement pattern approximating

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[68] In a two-day period at Chinese New Year, 1972, five persons were killed in the Third Division, three of them within four miles of the pasar.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

851 offers acceptance with less attention to ethnic background, and where
186 statuses are achieved by performance and production rather than ascribed according to relative grading of parental group identification.

4. Political Parties[70]

665 The formation of political parties in Sarawak is a relatively
177 late development, the first being formed in 1959. From the very beginning, most parties, with the exception of the Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA), have included members of several ethnic groups, and have aimed at the development of an inter-racial constituency. Given the short history of such formal political activity, it is not surprising that there are few ideological differences between the parties and that membership is recruited not so much on the basic of political philosophy as the rewards and interests offered by a party.[71]

At present, the ruling Alliance is comprised of members from each of the major local groups: Malay, Chinese and Iban. The formation of Malaysia in 1963 and the recent political coup by the very astute Chief Minister, Abdul Rahman Yaku'ub, has resulted in a new shuffle of the ethnic deck, with the Malays, who lost power through the 1946 cession, in a most favored position. The strength of Iban leaders, to which we have referred already, and their inability to work together

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[70] For a thorough discussion see Leigh, 1970.

[71] The local situation has many features that are similar to those in the Philippines as described by Lande, 1965.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 . Sibu

665 and reach decisions in the situations demanding compromise, has resulted
177 in a general loss of power among those who account for one-third of the population of Sarawak.

175 In summary, the peopling of the Sibu District has taken place
177 largely within the past century. Ibans, practicing shifting cultivation, moved into the area from the south via the Sarikei and Kanowit Rivers, crossed the Rejang and moved throughout the northern part of the District. The planting of rubber gardens and the shift to the cultivation of wet-rice in many parts of the District resulted in a sedentariness that is a new phenomenon within this century. Malays, sometimes in alliance with Ibans, moved in from the west. Relying at first on rice horticulture, which declined in importance, the Malay population came to depend upon trade and employment for their livelihood. Chinese were encouraged by the Second Rajah to migrate to the Rejang Delta, and the thousands of them who came wrought vast changes in the land on which they settled. Forsaking rice cultivation for the more lucrative industries of rubber, pepper and timber, the Chinese have built Sibu into the most important entrepot in Sarawak.

177 There has been exchange between members of these groups, and the small number of orang putih, at virtually all levels of life. So that in the pluralistic society of Sibu, accomodation and acculturation are long-established practices that have resulted in both structural, economic and

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177 cultural changes in Iban society, as we will see in the following chapters.

OOO outstation. Legislation was made casually, with no comprehensive land law, no uniform system of taxation, and no code of regulations for the important native civil service. Most of the Second Rajah's important concepts and decisions were never committed to writing and can only be inferred from other records.[1]

The apparent casualness with which Charles Brooke ruled is indicative of his unwillingness to relinquish control of his government by commitment of power to a ruling body in Kuching or by employment of a specialized staff in the outstations.[2] In fairness to him, this unwillingness stemmed in part from the lack of funds to recruit capable personnel to whom he could commit power.

His government was one of glaring inconsistencies. While it supposedly was flexible and varied according to local needs, yet the Rajah ruled as an absolute monarch, both paternalistic and preferential in his dealings with the people. He wrote that he preferred Sarawak as he found it, yet encouraged the immigration of thousands of Chinese into the Rejang Valley where their settlement has effected immense changes not only in the land but in the indigenes among whom they settled.

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[1] It was a government which gave little and demanded but the demands sometimes appeared quite large if judged by the response of rebels.

[2] There was no defined Secretariat in Kuching or specialized staff in the outstations.

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000 Brooke feared a possible invasion by European planters. This fear stemmed in part from an anxious concern that such a group not bilk the natives of their land, but also in part from the realization that planters would not have accepted his rule unquestioningly or put up with the casual government which he headed.[3]

175 177 Brooke's statement to the Bishop of Sarawak, that

> "I know the Dayak mind much better that I do my own brothers (and) countrymen..."[4]

was no idle boast. For Charles Brooke had lived more or less intimately with the Ibans at the time of that writing. But intimacy does not preclude paternalism; rather, his awareness of how well he knew his subjects served to re-inforce his conviction that he also knew what was best for them.

Although he wrote of keeping Sarawak as it was, and he stereotyped the Ibans in his desire to preserve their nativeness (Brooke 1866 II: 214) the policies he made and practices he implemented, such as the founding of fort-towns and the encouragement of Chinese group immigration, effected radical changes among the Ibans, and particularly in the Rejang area. In a very real way, Sibu was built because of the Ibans and, in part by

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[3] While the Rajah's policy of encouraging small-holding rubber vis-a-vis the plantations of West Malaysia has been praised by some writers, small-holders today cannot complete in quality of production with the plantations. Yesterday's blessings are today's curses.

[4] Charles Brooke to Bishop W.R. Mounsey, 20 December, 1909, SA.

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them, and in the interplay that has taken place in the past three-quarters of a century, their adaptation and orientation has changed in response to the developing town. From a people who were characterized by their independence, the Ibans of the Sibu District still maintain the value of independence as a cultural norm or ideal, but in fact are markedly dependent upon Sibu as an administrative center for the legitimization of their activities and investments, and as a center of trade for the goods they produced and others they need. The rise and development of Sibu has had widely ramifying effects both structurally and culturally in Iban society, as will be discussed below.

1. Expansion of Brooke Rule

Sibu owes its existence to the expansion of Brooke rule, Iban migrations and headhunting, and the Rajah's policy of constructing forts during the nineteenth century. Like many of Sarawak's other towns, Sibu was built where no permanent settlement had existed previously. Chinese traders were attracted to the protection of the fort and, typical of other Sarawak towns, Sibu became a center of the expanding local administration and trade.

In 1843, two events prompted the Rajah to visit the Rajang for the first time. Early in that year, a group Melanau spokesmen visited Kuching, complained about Iban headhunting, and asked for protection.

195 the strongly pro-Malay attitudes of the Third Rajah which were beginning
648 to emerge at that time.[8]

177 Sibu continues as a center for pacification, and at present, a policy of open recruitment of members of all ethnic groups is followed by the Police, but indigenous groups continue to dominate the Rangers and Field Force. Recruitment by and employment in the various branches of law enforcement has resulted in a long history of exposure of indigenes and their families to life in Sibu. Recently, with the communist campaign in Malaya in the 1950's, confrontation with Indonesia in the 1960's, and the increase in terrorist activities locally over the past two years,[9] the number of men employed in the military and police has been greatly increased. Ibans and other indigenes served as Scouts and Rangers in Malaya, and along the Indonesian border. An estimated 500 members of the Field Force live in barracks at Upper Lanang, and a like number of Rangers are encamped beyond the Sibu Airport. Some members of the Police live in barracks off Race Course Road, others in private residences. Some men live with their families in the barracks, others have their families in apartments along Lanang Road, at Sungai Antu, or wherever space can be found off the many tracks and side roads.

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[8] This will be discussed in detail later, but the Native Service became an entirely Malay preserve under the Third Rajah.

[9] While incidents such as the anti-Malaysia riot in August, 1963, the occasional painting of schools and the Chartered Bank, have a long history, the frequency of terrorist activities has picked up in the past two years when the Maoist "mushroom tactics" have been followed.

175 657 persons in outlying regions as well. For example, an early Resident's report noted that

> "In November, in the Sibu Court, Kan, Saran, and Lajun were fined $50 each for maliciously bringing false charges against Laun, Tuah Kampong of Tian. Simadom, Sigat, and S'Badul, of Matu, were fined $20 each for assaulting one Chu Beng, and at Kapit, Private Dulah, fortman, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for theft of Government money, and of goods belonging to his comrades. . ."

The increase in both criminal and civil cases resulted in a division of labor between the Resident's Court, which heard murder cases, the District Court which tried civil cases, and the Magistrate's [69] Court which handled petty debt cases and other legal matters. The growth of the court system, combined with the Iban's proclivity to litigation and preference of an outsider[10] as arbiter, resulted in additional gains in the Rajah's government's strength as Ibans and other indigenes sought for hearings before the courts.

2. Political Integration

175 657 177 A further development which contributed to the transfer of judical power from the traditional longhouse community to the urban center was the creation of a hierarchical structure of official power to which

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[829] [10] The fear of factions is expressed clearly in this preference, for favoritism and nepotism are not vices but ways of strengthening one's position and that of one's relatives vis-a-vis others. Factions are not suspected: they are recognized as existing and a part of Iban social organization. So, appeal to a more neutral/party assures an impartial verdict.

175 the Ibans became oriented. Whereas the Ibans had supported no leaders
657 and acknowledged the leadership of individuals only on ad hoc occasions,
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173 for example, the orang tau tusut (genealogist) for researching family
787 lines to determine the marriageability of a couple, or the tuai burong (augur) to discern the meaningful calls and flights of omen birds for events connected with the horitcultural season or pejalai, the Rajah
622 established a network of power ties with himself as the vertex. With encouraged or enforced sedentariness, Iban longhouse communities selected tuai rumah who adjudicated problems and land disputes internal to the
631 community. At a higher level were the pengulu (or penghulu), a position that was created by the Second Rajah and the title was first used in the investiture of the pengulu in Sibu.[11] The Iban Pengulu, the Malay tuah kampong, and the Chinese kang chew formed the second level in the hierarchical structure, as community leaders. At the third level was a diverse native service with a corps of Native Officers, composed largely but not exclusively of Malay aristocrats. Above them, at the fourth level, were the Residents, and, at the apex, the Rajah.

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[11] "At the Fort (Brooke) the Resident (Mr. Low) had assembled all the Dayak tuahs who were now to receive the title of 'pengulu'. The Fort was crowded and H.H. the Rajah then addressed the meeting. . .he hoped that the Dayak chiefs before him who had for so long supported the government would continue to do so, not only in their own houses, but by all acting in concert, and by doing this should any disaffection arise they themselves could suppress it in the land." (SG 212, 1 September, 1883)

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"Including the Rajah, the entire structure may be regarded as a four-(or five, depending on whether the tuai rumah is included) tiered layering of usually benevolent despotisms, excepting perhaps the level of the community headmen who acted more as arbitrators and intermediaries than as rulers."

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The creation of the status of pengulu had far-reaching implications in the loosely structured Iban political organization. The pengulu supervised collection of the annual family tax, and received a commission of

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ten per cent on all taxes collected. The pengulu were empowered to judge inter-house disputes, such as quarrels over land boundaries, adultery, or cases that the tuai rumah could not resolve. In the Third Division, pengulu were allowed to levy fines on which they received a

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commission of ten per cent. In the mid-1920's, under the Third Rajah, the pengulu of the Third Division began to receive salaries in lieu of commissions on taxes and fines.

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The pengulu were expected to raun ("travel around") at least once a year, to hear cases and keep in touch with local situations, as well to appraise residents of longhouses of government policies and activities of concern to them. In 1939, a rumah kunsil ("Native Officers' House," for the past twenty years or more commonly known as the Rumah Temuai, "Guest House") was built beside the stream, that flowed past Sibu Island and into the Igan. This house had seven rooms, or one for each of the seven pengulu of the Sibu District in which they could stay while in Sibu.

631 The Council is the licesnse-issuing authority for all rural shops, an
[443] increasing number of which are being run by Ibans. The Council derives its funds from taxes and licenses.

871 Within the last decade or so, the services of the Council have
631 been much sought by Ibans from almost every community, particularly education. The rewards that schooling brought to those who were able to get positions as teachers, Government and company clerks, whetted the always keen appetite of the Ibans for profit and opportunity, this time through education. As a result, the Council was requested by scores to longhouse communities to put a school di kaki tangga' ("at the foot of the ladder," according to Alli Majang, an officer in the
631 Education Department). In addition to responsibility for primary school
657 education, the Council also provides maternity and child care in the District, employing and training indu' bidan ("mid-wives") who either
[165] are in residence or travel to rural communities. These services have
[177] resulted in a significant decrease in infant mortality rates, through ante- and post-natal care, and have contributed to the new orientation of Ibans to medical facilities provided by private doctors, clinics, and hospital in Sibu.

631 The Council is composed of Councillors elected from 22 wards.
[666]

671/178 Sarawak has noted,

> ". . .The adat of Sarawak is neither simple nor straight forward and is not to be traced to any one source. . . Adat has remained adat in its pure form, a rule of tradition to be found only in the mind of society."

657 [671] The codification of Iban adat was consonant with the policy of indirect rule which was followed into the colonial era. For it permitted the Governments, Brooke and British, to select and support those features of adat that were congenial with their purposes and make them normative through implementation by Government-endorsed leaders.[19]

6. Legitimization of Land Holdings

423 [177] An important aspect of Iban adat which underwent radical change was that dealing with land tenure. As we have noted, traditionally, a pioneer and his descendants claimed usufruct rights to land cleared for cultivation. Just as individuals claimed rights over land they had cleared and farmed (temuda'), so, also, longhouse communities claimed customary rights over sites of longhouses built and deserted (tembawai).

657 423 Brooke restraint of Iban migrations and encouragement of Chinese group immigration created a situation which resulted in the enactment of many land laws, which, though by intent were designed to protect the indigenes from the Chinese, resulted in a new context to which traditional adat had to be adjusted, and a demographic pattern unlike any other area of Sarawak.

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[19] This also permitted the rationalization of Government's paternalistic interference.

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657 The Second Rajah was determined to promote Chinese group immigration, for the economic development of the lower Rejang. Despite early indications to the contrary, he was convinced that any problems over land between the Chinese and other ethnic groups could be resolved. His view that there was empty land and plenty for all was essentially true,[20] but as we have described in Chapter One, much land remains empty because it is infertile, inaccessible, or both. As Pringle succinctly puts it:

> ". . .As a matter of practical fact, there is frequently not enough usable land for all, and since World War II this effective shortage has been a growing cause of political tension."

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423 Land disputes between Chinese and Ibans began in the first year of the Foochow arrival, and were a continuous source of conflict between the persons involved as well as to Government. The disputes reached a climax in the "Binatang Disputes of 1925,"[21] but tensions over land and the inadequacy of existing land laws continue to vex Government today.

The problems that arose were in part technical, in part cultural, and involved the two groups' use and attitudes towards land. The Chinese, coming from the overpopulated southeastern provinces of China, saw the

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[20] An estimated three-quarters of Sarawak is still virgin forest (Annual Report, 1963:49).

[21] See, "The Binatang Land Disputes, 1925," SG, No. 1331, 1969: 13-15.

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177 423 largely unsettled areas of the Rejang as land opened for occupation and cultivation. The land which the Ibans had cleared already of virgin jungle with large trees and covered with secondary growth, looked especially appealing. What they did not understand and, surprisingly, what the Rajah would not comprehend, was the Iban attitude toward the land. The conflict basically was one between settlers whose farming techniques included the complete clearing and fertilization of land for permanent occupation and continuous cultivation, and shifting cultivators, whose techniques included clearing land sufficiently to plant rice amidst the stumps for one or two years, then moving on, but claiming usufruct rights in perpetuity[22] and assuming responsibilities to the spirits of those who had invested their energies and lives in the land.[23]

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[654] [22] A recent incident involved an Iban who claimed damages for loss of fruit trees cut down by a Government survey team on land he inherited but has not developed and has not seen in five years.

[23] "In my experience the administrator discussing land rights with a peasant is usually talking at cross purposes; for the former "my land" implies a personal individual form of tenure, for the latter it may involve a host of obligations towards abstrusely connected relatives not to mention their ancestral spirits. It seems to me altogether too much to suppose that the enterprising Iban who acquires registered land in a native area [113] suddenly adjusts his legal notions to those of the Land Office." (Leach, "Land and Custom," SG No. 1073, 1 August, 1947).

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175 other land than that granted them.[24]
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The continuing disputes between Chinese and non-Chinese in the lower Rajang resulted in the promulgation of a number of land
[654] laws, aimed at protecting the indigenes from the Chinese.[25] Out-stations of the Land and Survey Department were established to carry out surveys and to establish property boundaries as well as to enforce
175 land regulations. Although the Second Rajah assumed that his intimate
177 knowledge of the Ibans served in his preservation of their "nativeness,"
423 yet the laws he instituted and the boundaries he drew around the various ethnic groups had far-reaching effects in the life of the Ibans. That these laws contravened the adat which was a part of the traditional Iban life as the Rajah perceived it, goes without saying.[26] His restraint

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[24] "Owing to the lack of a proper Land Department at Sibu, with consequently no surveys, land grants have been issued promiscuoulsy in the past." (SG No. 804, 1 November, 1920).

[25] The most important land laws are those enacted in 1931 and 1933, on which present regulations are based.

[26] Writing on the bind Government officers find themselves in between land regulations and adat, F.R.K.K. warns that "much harm in land affairs (can be done) by rigourously following our existing land laws. . . We very much doubt whether the axiom in the 1939 Secretariat circular, 'Removal to another district automatically extinguishes all rights of user' is in every case in accordance with the customary law of a particular community. In fact, natives do change their abode, arrange for someone to look after their land and return afterwards to enjoy the benefit of the land. Again, the injunction, 'no community may hold up land in excess
[113] of requirements,' (who is to determine the 'requirements'?) ("Customary Land Tenure," SG No. 1130, 31 May, 1952).

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195 of their migrations, encouragement of rubber planting, and establish-
177 ment in the Land and Survey Department of an external authority to
423 validate land tenure radically changed the social organization of the Ibans who responded to his Government, as they became sedentary and
[M3] oriented to a cash economy. The practice of preserving lengthy genealogies for validating land holdings, typical of shifting cultivators, is virtually extinct among Sibu Ibans, for authority now is invested in the surat tanah ("land letter"). Although not all land in the District is held under permit or has been surveyed, yet there is none that can be described as unclaimed or undesignated on land maps.

7. Protector of Resources

115 The development of Sibu as a center for the administration of
657 resources included the establishment of the Forest Department in 1919. The Department has responsibility for the constitution and administration of various categories of forests, for example, those that may be exploited by timber companies and those that may not be.

177 The florescence of the timber industry in the late 1940's and
657 from the 1950's on, required overall supervision to insure against the
313 indiscriminate felling of forests. Of concern to the Ibans were those forests that were important to them for the wood for their longhouses and the products that they collected for sale. The rapidly expanding timber operations struck fear among many Ibans that the forests and

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177 657 313 their valuable products would be irretrievably lost. As a result, petitions were made by the tuai rumah of many longhouses, and where possible and reasonable,[27] the Department constituted communal forests which could not be opened for commercial exploitation by timber companies, but were the preserves of the respective communities.

The constitution of some forests by the Department as Native Forest Reserves has permitted the exploitation of such forests by logging companies, and a share of the value of the timber to be divided among the tuai rumah and their anembiak holding customary rights to the forest. This has been a profitable business both for the timber companies and enterprising Ibans; for the companies, controlled by Chinese[28] as described in Chapter One, have had to give gifts and make payments in order to procure licenses to clear the forests through the tuai rumah.

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With the booming timber prices and the Ibans' desire for cash, coupled with the strategic position they hold vis-a-vis the Native Forest

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[27] In some instances, tuai rumah did not make petitions until all land contiguous their longhouses had been allocated to other houses, or made applications for land some distance away, claiming customary rights that they were unable to substantiate.

[28] Under law, Chinese operators, are required to have a specified number of Iban "partners." While adhering to the letter of the law, Chinese still maintain effective control of timber and sawmill operators.

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177 Reserves, some have been able to use their ethnic membership and pangkat
657 ("title") to advantage in maximizing the financial opportunity. For
313 example, those penghulu and tuai rumah who have been able to gain control of forests sought by timber operators have been able to convert these political advantages to personal economic benefit.

177 The competition for forest resources and the profits to be gained
477 from them is fierce, and sometimes it is carried on in ways that con-
313 travene local forest regulations. Accusations and counter-accusations have been made about claim-jumping and gift-giving. For example, Ibans from the Igan have entered claims to tracts in Maman; one man from Bawang Assan obtained a license for operations in Assan; and several men collaborated in an abortive attempt to obtain rights over a vast forest on the Oya River. Because of alleged contraventions, both "little fish" and "big fish", to use the local expression, have been brought to court and sometimes found guilty of the charges.[29]

8. Permits and Probate

177 A further development of the growing power of Sibu as an admin-
428 istrative center in the lives of the Ibans of the District is the number
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[29] The former include claim jumpers or those who seek to defraud by taking money in advance on forests to which they have no claims; the latter include a former Superintendent of Forests, Sibu, who though acquitted in his trial was forced to leave Sarawak, and towkays who have been charged with mismanagement.

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197 420 657 of estates that are brought to the District Office for probate. Although as one informant stated this is relatively new and not many Ibans are aware of p'robit (v.f. m'ribit), yet in figures available, Iban estates accounted for almost one-third of those probated in Sibu. For example, in 1952, Iban estates numbered 37 of a total of 105 probated (see Table 11 on page 167). This development is due to several factors. First is the Iban principle of partible inheritance. With the exception of smoked head (antu pala'), all other objects in a bilik may be divided among the heirs. Usually, division is made between the heirs or, if they fail to agree on the division, the tuai rumah may be asked to determine the share of each heir. Second, as already noted, as the Ibans moved into the Sibu District, they planted rubber gardens and began the cultivation of swamp rice, with a resulting sedentariness. Instead of cultivating and moving on, as had been their practice, they invested time, energy and money in the development of their lands. Third, with the Chinese immigrations reaching flood proportions by the mid-1920's, it became expedient if not imperative for Ibans to acquire O.T's ("Occupation Tickets") to guarantee their rights to farmlands and rubber gardens. Without an O.T., an Iban faced possible litigation over land to which he claimed usufruct rights, but to which a Chinese had been granted a temporary title.[30]

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[30] In 1925, when 4,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Sibu, a total of 3,100 temporary titles or O.T.'s were issued for "newly opened land," much of which was still claimed by Ibans as it had been farmed recently by them. This was a prime cause of the "Binatang Disputes of 1925" (SGG 16 August, 1926, see also SG No. 1331, 1969: 13-15). [113]

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Iban estates that are probated are composed of real property, such as farmlands or rubber gardens to which government-issued permits are held. When a permit to such property is inherited by an individual, he has the name on the permit changed from that of the deceased to his own in the District Office, and pays the fee for the transfer. When several persons inherit land under permit, it may be necessary for new permits to be issued, if the land is divided, to each heir and payment of the probate charge is divided among the heirs. The crucial factor, of which Ibans are well aware, is that the transfer must be made in the District Office, according to Government regulations, otherwise the permit is invalid. Hence, the beginnings of the practice of probate.

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The development of Sibu as an administrative center has been important in the life of the Ibans of this District in the shift of the locus of power for legitimizing activities from the bilik-family and long-house community to Government. One of the strongest facts of Iban society is the high degree of fragmentation and the tradition of every man doing what is right in his heart. There never has been any over-riding "tribal unity" despite the use of a common language and the sharing of a common culture. Thus, the power held by the various offices in Sibu, including law enforcement, courts, the pengulu, and control of natural resources such as land and timber, has resulted in a centripetal pull on the Iban towards the pasar where he must handle many of his business affairs,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

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TABLE 11

Iban Probate Matters
1952

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Probate Number	Name	Net Value of Estate	Probate Charge
3/52	Tama(f) ak Below	250.	------
4/52	Lembang ak Ajang	2,050.	30.75
6/52	Nayak(f) ak Manang Serba	3,400.	61.00
25/52	Agong ak Laba	400.	------
26/52	Entir ak Lagok	950.	------
28/52	Lau ak Atim	1,190.	11.90
36/52	Sunan ak Busang	20.	------
37/52	Alot ak Bubong	160.	------
38/52	Nyawai apai Linggang	450.	------
39/52	A. Sulang ak Limbai	1,080.	10.80
41/52	Usan ak Chabu	1,600.	16.00
43/52	A. Unggat ak Mut	900.	------
45/52	Ikeh ak Kalom	1,200.	12.00
45/52	Nor(f) ak Inggir	100.	------
48/52	Datu ak Chendang	1,320.	13.20
52/52	Nyamuk ak Chili	500.	------
60/52	Lambong apai Sallah	1,000.	10.00
67/52	Lon apai Ibai	380.	------
70/52	Rumpang apai Dajai	1,200.	12.00
74/52	Nani ak Jaya	915.	------
77/52	Ludan ak Ulak	325.	------
82/52	Igoh apai Embi	550.	------
85/52	Bayang ak Nasat	450.	------
86/52	Abeng apai Kulan	1,125.	------
87/52	Adam	2,000.	20.00
88/52	Biah indai Lah	200.	------
89/52	Angat laki Dayang	300.	------
90/52	Buje ak Danggang	95.	------
91/52	Changgai ak Ugom	250.	------
92/52	Burud ak Asap	650.	------
94/52	Ujang ak Kudang	150.	------
96/52	Eron ak Skalai	200.	------
97/52	Jagok apai Lao	1,650.	16.50
98/52	Lawi ak Awek	990.	------
100/52	Kudang ak Empaga	2,200.	22.00
104/52	Agum apai Inta	184.	------
105/52	Pilang ak Sebuang	350.	------

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such as paying annual taxes, buying radio and bicycle licenses, requesting aid for padi planting, and legitimizing his land holdings.

C. Sibu as an Entrepot

In Chapter One we discussed the economic bases upon which Sibu has been built, together with the major phases in its development. In the last chapter, we described the immigration of the Foochow community and its domination of Sibu's commerce. We turn now to consider briefly the rise and characteristics of Sibu as a center of trade, for lacking any significant industrialization, the town and its residents have been largely dependent upon the import and export business.

By 1880, or eighteen years after the founding of Sibu, Hokkien traders had built two rows of forty shophouses each along what now is Channel Road. Taking advantage of the protection offered by the Fort and its force, the traders established their business of exchanging cloth, salt, hardware and valuables for jungle produce from the rich Rejang hinterland.

In 1903, the first Foochow shophouses were built on Channel Road, where a disastrous fire in 1898 had destroyed almost all of the former shophouses. Some of the Hokkien shopkeepers rebuilt and continued to do business with members of their own dialect group, Ibans and Malays. The Foochows at first tended to do business solely among themselves.

Trade was light and irregular because of two factors: first, the principal items for export were the various jungle products, which were collected on a casual basis according to the inclination of the collectors as well as the signs and seasons.[31] Sometimes the indigenes appeared laden with goods for exchange, more often they did not.

Secondly, problems of shipping related to the distance of Sibu from the sea, and the difficulty of navigating the Rejang with its treacherous sandbars, prevented larger ocean-going vessels calling at the port, and made the trips of ships in and out of Sibu very irregular. Commenting on a voyage of the S.S. Rajah of Sarawak, Baring-Gould exulted that,

> "Captain McDonnell found little difficulty in navigating the vessel round the numerous sand banks in the river, but that the rocks below Sarikei are somewhat of a hinderance as they can only be passed on a rising ride; the depth at low water in places being 12 feet and at high water 24 feet."

The introduction of rubber and the proliferation of rubber gardens, and to a lesser extent pepper, provided products of more predictable and dependable character than the sometimes casually gathered jungle products.

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[31] A poorly-lined pig's liver, a bad dream, the cry of an omen bird, or a bird's flight from left (raup) instead of from the right (mimpin) could result in a collecting trip's being called off.

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175 The Chinese immigrants were the first to seize upon the potential in
177 rubber, and Ibans were quick to follow their example. For rubber
439 offered a viable alternative to rice, a dependable source of income, albeit mercurial, and an item which always could be exchanged.[32]

By 1920, the pasar was being expanded to handle the increased
175 177 volume of business, and to provide employment for men either disinclined to horticulture or landless.[33] In March of that year, twenty-four lots for new shophouses were auctioned off on lanes leading off Channel Road.[34] One year later, a "pork and vegetable market" was started, and completed the following year. In November, 1925, a further fourteen shop sites were auctioned, bringing a total of S$44,600. Even at that early date, Sibu's land inflation had begun.[35]

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[314] [32]Even a present with the price of rubber at only M$20 per picul, a large number of Ibans and Chinese continue to tap their trees; for, in the words of one man, "It's either tap or starve."

[33]Cf. SG No. 1167, 31 May, 1955:98, for a discussion of the number of Chinese who entered trade due to land pressures.

[34]Located on what are now Cross and Blacksmith Roads, these lots brought S$43,969 (SG No. 812, 2 May, 1921:107).

[35]Land in the Sibu pasar is sometimes calculated by the square foot as, for example, when the Sarawak Electricity Supply Company wanted to buy a small section of land for its purposes and paid several thousand dollars for about twenty square feet.

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177 Not all Chinese were inclined to forsake rice cultivation, for experiences of shortages of rice during and shortly after the First World War had convinced a number of them that in the absence of rice, rubber makes mighty tough chewing. By 1920, the Foochow production of rice had reached an estimated twenty thousand piculs, not wholly adequate for feeding their community but going far towards it. The Government purchased a rice mill and rice plant for husking the locally-grown rice both for consumption by the producers and for sale in the pasar. The single mill was inadequate, and shortly afterwards a second mill was purchased by two Chinese businessmen and set up at Sungai Bidut across from Sibu.

The rise of Sibu as an entrepot and its expansion permitted the channeling of a considerable part of the surplus population, i.e., those who either would not farm or could not farm for want of land, into trade. Yet despite the growth of trade and the building of shophouses, problems of unemployment and housing continued to beset the community. When rubber prices were high, owners of gardens took on help to tap the trees. But when the prices fell, the tappers were released "in hundreds and are unable to find work" (SG No. 809, 1 February, 1921:14). Government took on as many men as possible and set them to road-building and clearance. The shortage of available housing resulted in the rise of rentals, until more shophouses were built to receive the increase in

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population. There are several reports of unemployment, housing shortages and rise in rentals over the third and fourth decades of this century.

The immediate importance of these developments to this study is that they established a pattern which still is held to and practiced by Chinese and indigenes in times of want. That is, if rice crops fail and the price of rubber falls, men and women come into Sibu to seek for temporary, day-labor, such as unloading charcoal from lighters, or for more permanent work with construction companies. Absorption of a number, sometimes large, sometimes small, of under-employed persons from rural areas, and the creation of an expectation of such absorption has been a most significant development in Sibu's growth as a center of trade.[36]

By 1920, the volume of trade carried on in Sibu had more than trebled the amount at the beginning of the century. The total exports from Sibu in 1900 amounted to S$846,226, of which almost three-fourths (S$592,426) comprises gutta and other local rubber. By 1919, exports from Sibu had reached the amount of S$2,801,246, of which ninety per

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[36] Many persons who come to Sibu looking for employment claim that there is no work for them in the rural areas. What actually is meant is that there is no work which they want to take up. As we will discuss in the following chapter, kerja ("work") in Iban has come to denote wage-earning, and the person who farms or taps rubber has no work according to this definition.

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000 If we may speak of a mercantile mentality, this quite literally is the ethos of the business community of Sibu. A majority of ties within individual networks, both formal and informal, are based upon expectations of trade and exchange, profit and gain. Philanthropic activities and the patronage of various sporting events draws attention to the sponsors - as well as to the trades they represent.

177 439 441 Although Ibans and other indigenes have shared in Sibu's growth in ways already described, viz. through supplying jungle products, rubber, pepper, and labor, few of them have owned shophouses and run businesses in the pasar. Notable exceptions include Messrs. Unchat anak Chok and Jonathan Bangau, each of whom inherited a shophouse from his father.[40] Both men have appreciated a considerable and steady income from the rental of their shops. "Pasar Bangau" has been a point of reference among Ibans in giving directions in Sibu. Bangau also is involved in several business enterprises, including serving as chairman of the Glass Sand Company, Limited, which supplies sand for a Japanese firm, and has an authorized capital of one million Malaysian dollars.

441 177 183 369 Of more immediate affect upon the Iban community has been the dissemination of those values concomitant with the mercantile mentality

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[40] Chok, the late father of Unchat, was a close friend of the father of Mr. Wong Soon Kai, a distinguished Sibu surgeon, and was advised in his investments by the elder Wong. It is significant that the fathers of Unchat and Bangau were among those Iban who refused to cut their rubber trees when the conflict between traditional rice cultivation and the new rubber planting gave rise to the story of rubber eating rice (cf. page 27).

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of the business community of Sibu. Acceptance of the values of cash-income, profits and saving has motivated hundreds of Ibans to forsake home and farm for town and salary. Although many are wage-earners, few indeed have been able to penetrate the tightly woven fabric of the Foochow-dominated business world, and it appears doubtful that many will for some time to come. The only apparent break-through has been in retailing fruit, vegetables and, occasionally, poultry in the Iban market or in some other unoccupied public space, appreciating by the direct sale a much better return than by selling their goods to a Chinese middle-man.[41]

In the rural area, scores of Iban traders have emerged in the past two decades, running shophouses near their longhouse communities. In some instances, these are new businesses where none previously has existed. In other cases, business which formerly was handled by a Chinese trader has been taken over by Iban shopkeepers. For example, in 1971, a Chinese shopkeeper in the Ulu Salim Kiba area was forced to close his business when he could not collect outstanding debts. Upon his closing, all of his business fell to two Iban shopkeepers at Rumah Imba and Rumah Nyelang.

D. Services, Education, Recruitment and Recreation

The growth of Sibu as an administrative center and an entrepot was accompanied by the development of a number of other functions which

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[41] Middlemen and hawkers commonly pay Chinese gardeners and Ibans about one-half of the retail price for vegetables and fruit.

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177 have become increasingly important to residents and attractions to people in rural areas. We turn now to consider these functions and their relative significance to the people of the Sibu District and beyond.

1. Medical Services

164 Although the Rejang Valley cannot be called an inordinately unhealthy area, neither can it be described as disease free. For, while a number of formerly serious diseases have been brought largely under control, other health problems continue to plague residents and officials.

Early reports indicate that periodic outbreaks of smallpox (puru), typhoid (sakit angat), malaria (chelap angat) and cholera (muang ai') [657] occurred. Immunization and the eradication of the anopheles mosquito has helped to bring these diseases under control, though isolated cases still are found.

Respiratory diseases, the most serious of which is tuberculosis (batok rangkai), are common, there being little understanding of the [657] etiology of the diseases among the general public. The development of a chest clinic, construction of a tuberculosis ward, and implementation of a program of immunization among school children has helped to reduce the incidence of tuberculosis and the number of fatalities due to the illness.

Health problems resulting from an impure water supply continue to plague many rural residents,[42] and water-borne diseases such as gastro-

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[42] According to an official of the Sibu Water Board, the urban water supply repeatedly has been tested by the World Health Organization and given the highest rating for purity.

enteritis (chirit) are common. According to several local doctors, gastroenterities is the main cause of deaths among infants, especially of Ibans and others in remote areas, from where they are brought in for treatment in such a dehydrated state that they are beyond help.

Other intestinal disorders such as diarrhea (chirit) and dysentery (bira' ka darah) are common. Worms (lundong) and other parasites contribute to a number of disorders, including distention of the abdomen, anemia, and a generally weakened condition in the hosts, and the incidence of parasitic infection in the indigenous population is virtually universal.

Tetanus (tegamggam) continues to be a major cause of death in many more remote Iban communities, resulting from a ritual cutting of the umbilical cord with an unsterilized bamboo silver and then smearing the end of the cord with ashes.

Leprosy (sakit lan) was the other major disease that was greatly feared by the local population, bearers being ostracized. Those who contract leprosy are sent to Kuching where a modern, well-equipped leprasarium has been constructed.

Because of these and a score of other diseases, as well as various forms of mental illness, attention has been given to treatment and prevention as funds and personnel have been available. In 1902, a clinic and dispensary was built near Fort Brooke with a dresser in charge. This was expanded into a small hospital but the response of Chinese and

indigenes was slight, each group preferring traditional medical practices. Thus, for example, a total of 1,744 patients were treated in the Sibu Hospital.

In 1931, on the eve of his return to China, a prominent Chinese from Engkilo, Lau King Howe, contributed one-half of the cost of a new hospital which still bears his name. The hospital has been expanded and now contains ten wards. Exposure to the work of doctors and nurses in the hospital has evoked an ever-increasing response from all groups. During the last year for which figures are available, a total of 106,520 patients were treated in the Hospital as indicated in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Number of Patients Treated
Lau King Howe Hospital
1970

Ethnic Group	Number	New Cases	Follow-ups	Admissions
Chinese	40,243	46,050	54,404	6,066
Iban	34,237			
Malay	32,040			
Total	106,520	Total of All Cases		106,520

In addition to the Government Hospital, eight private doctors practice in the pasar. Although these doctors in contrast to the socialized medicine of the hospital, charge for their services and medicines dispensed, they are frequented by hundreds of patients daily. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 187]

TABLE 13

Sibu Family Planning Clinic Attendance
1964-1970

New

Year	Chinese	Malay	Iban	Others	Total
1964	296	121	41	11	369
1965	742	98	143	14	997
1966	637	57	235	27	956
1967	612	40	307	27	986
1968	488	68	518	13	1,087
1969	382	89	477	16	964
1970	338	67	374	10	789
64-70	3,495	440	2,095	118	6,148

Repeat

Year	Chinese	Malay	Iban	Others	Total
1964	242	30	32	9	313
1965	2,651	380	449	44	3,524
1966	3,770	545	987	118	5,420
1967	5,335	713	1,838	209	8,905
1968	6,446	972	3,307	217	10,942
1969	5,941	1,454	4,474	149	12,018
1970	5,163	1,710	6,062	94	13,029
64-70	29,548	5,804	17,149	840	53,341

177 proportion of patients who frequent private practitioners is virtually
758 the same as the figures above, that is overall 38 per cent are Chinese, 32 per cent Iban, and 30 per cent Malay. It is not uncommon for some Ibans to solicit treatment both in the Government Hospital and from a private doctor in the same morning, particularly if the personnel in the
[789] former institution refuses to give an injection (bejik). So deep is the faith of many Ibans in the magic of needle, that on occasion they will go to two doctors on the same day, not telling the second that they have been treated by the other.

In 1955, a maternity clinic providing ante-natal and post-natal care for mothers and infants was begun. A majority of women receiving help are Chinese, but an increasing number of Iban women are availing themselves of the services the clinic offers.

Another medical service which has grown in importance to the population is the Family Planning Clinic. Begun in 1963, the clinic deals with almost 15,000 women annually. Iban response at first slow due to a lack of understanding of the work of the clinic, but in 1970, Ibans were the largest single ethnic group visiting the clinic.

2. Welfare Agencies

177 Since the Second World War, a number of welfare agencies have been founded in Sibu.[43] The functions of many of these agencies are new

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[113] [43] For a discussion of welfare agencies in Sarawak, see The Sarawak Gazette No. 1268, 31 October, 1963, pp. 253-261.

177 and but little understood by the Iban community, and as yet are culturally unacceptable to them. For example, in the two homes for the aged at Salim and Bukit Lima, only two of the seventy-three inmates are Iban, the remainder being Chinese. Asked about placing old people in the homes, one Iban man said that it was unthinkable, for as long as they were able they would care for their own. Thus, as in the case of a number of the voluntary associations, the practice, if not the declared policy, of a number of the welfare agencies is "care for our own."

657 By far, the most important agency to the Ibans is the Welfare Department which, in 1971 provided rice to residents in about one-half of the longhouses in the Sibu District. The amount of rice granted to each family was relatively small, on the average enough for two weeks, but the expectation born in the grants has been enormous. One Government official reported that recipients are told that the grant is given but once, but they anticipate such a grant annually. Because of a rice shortage due to a number of factors, including unseasonable rains and flooding, more Ibans are applying for food supplies, the cost of which is estimated by Government to be about M$150,000 in the Third Division.

3. Education

000 The first schools in the area of Sibu were privately supported and run by Chinese settlers. There is mention of a small school that had been established by the Hokkien traders by the turn of the century,

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871 employed or are spouses of wage-earners. The results and employment
464 opportunities for students in unaided schools have tended to be generally more disappointing both to the youngsters and to their parents. At the same time, none of the 143 respondents has returned to take up residence in his longhouse, whereas a majority of the latter group has had to for lack of employment. With the increase of students, however, many with a Division II Pass in the Sarawak Junior, who formerly would have been able to obtain employment, no longer are able to do so.[46]

871 The effects of education on Iban have been varied but far-reaching.
177 Education has helped to re-inforce the changing value system from "the
369 good life of padiculture" to the fast buck by offering a means to its attainment. The location of all secondary schools initially in urban centers meant a radical disorientation of young people to their culture and disengagement from their society, so that they have been either unable or refused to re-enter the longhouse community. In an analysis of the effects of education on Iban society, an officer of the Education Department wrote that,

> "the basic weakness of Iban education is that it is regarded by parents, children, teachers and all concerned, not as preparation for life in an Iban community, but as a means of escaping it. . . The educated are lost forever to their longhouses. . .

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[46] For a discussion of problems of school-leavers and unemployment see Schaeffer's paper in Appendix A.

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> The gap between schoolhouse and longhouse yawns ever wider; the situation was well epitomized by a certain teacher's crushing rebuke of a bad boy. . ., 'You are good for nothing but to be a farmer'."

It is small wonder that, given the expectations of parents and students, and the changes of values introduced and re-inforced through modern education, relatively highly educated young people return to the [657] longhouse communities for visits, but not live. And, despite Government's policy and urging them "back-to-the-country," young Ibans increasingly are going to seek new ways of living in the urban areas.

4. Recruitment

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[175] From the late nineteenth century onward, Ibans from the Sibu District and other areas travelled in search of work and adventure not only within Sarawak but as far afield as New Ginea. In an account of his wanderings, Tuba Aki Polly of Bawang Assan has recounted how he signed on with a company for work in Malacca and, upon completion of that contract (sain, "sign"), signed on with another company and worked for one year in New Guinea.

464 Not all Ibans are so adventurous, not inclined to wander so far in search of work,[47] and the growth of Sibu has permitted many more to find employment and adventure closer to home. We have noted already in

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[47] Several Iban men with whom I have talked expressed a desire to move away from their home areas and into the Sibu pasar, but said that they were afraid to, because they were uneducated and unskilled.

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5. Recreation

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> "Why did I move to Sibu?" answered the young man. "It's more exciting (rami agi'), there are more people, you can meet your friends and do more here than in the longhouse."

From the beginning of this century, Sibu has held an attraction for the Ibans as a recreation center, where games were held "much to the appreciation of the Natives" (SG No. 410, 1900:53). The invitation of Ibans to sporting activities on Boxing Day and New Year's met with a great response, so that a later writer described the numbers who came as "a Dayak invasion" (cf. Appendix A).

A highlight for both rural and urban residents was the regatta held every year or so, which permitted hordes of Ibans and other indigenes to participate in boat races while enjoying the food, drinks, lights and crowds of the pasar. The termination of the regattas has by no means deterred rural visitors from enjoying the other pleasures which Sibu has to offer.

The pasar boasts five movie theaters all of which do a good business, owing to the lack of other forms of entertainment for many people. The movies shown are an important means of disseminating new ideas and values. By far, the most popular movies to the Ibans are the Hindustani films, followed by war-stories and action cowboy stories.

The mere pleasure of meeting friends and having a drink or a meal in a coffee shop is probably the attraction that draws most Ibans

369 who come to Sibu "just to visit themselves" (sigi' ka' ngalu diri').
• 177 From early morning until closing time, the coffee shops along Channel Road in particular but in other areas as well, do a brisk trade with an Iban clientele.

[657] All forms of gambling, from the Social Welfare Department's backed numbers game of Toto to a small game of cards, are popular among Ibans as well as others. Cockfighting probably attracts more Iban and Chinese men than does any other single form of gambling. Men stake their roosters out on traffic islands, carry them under their arms as they bicycle through town, preen their feathers, and sneak in an illegal cockfight (nyabong churi) whenever they think the heads of the police are turned the other way. On Sundays and holidays, cockfights are arranged by the purchase of a license from the District Office[48] at the Tenth Mile Oya Road, Durin Pasar, or at Oya, with men attending from as far away as Miri and Kuching.

Although by the judgment of many persons, Sibu is limited in recreational activities, still it holds a high attraction for Ibans of this District and beyond who are looking for diversion and play.

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[622] [48] In an interesting case of economic cooperation, Iban tuai rumah in the areas where cockfights are held purchase the license in turn, one tuai rumah one week, another the next, and so on until all have had a turn. The license holder and his helpers receive a part of the gate and all bets placed on the day of the fights for which he holds the license.

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In summary, the growth and development of Sibu as an urban center for administration, trade, education, recruitment and recreation has profoundly affected not only the lives of the predominantly Chinese immigrant population but also those of the Ibans as well. Paying taxes, competing in business, seeking positions for their children in school, looking for work and coming to the pasar for a good time, the Ibans have through accommondation and acculturation experienced important changes in their social organization and culture as we shall discuss in Part II.

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employment. In the opinion of many young people, there is no future for them in the longhouse, and in the minds of older members of the society, cash income is synonymous with work (kereja). Of the population of Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, fifty-five of the members are wage-earners, either commuting daily into Sibu, or away for months or even years at their jobs. Of the aggregation of seven longhouses in Bawang Assan below Sibu, more than three hundred of the community members are salaried.

Classification of the Iban as a people of a subsistence economy is dubious. For they have been a people who have maintained a cultural norm of achievement through production and in predation. As in many other societies, some members have achieved according to the ideal, others have fallen short.

The contacts over the past century with members of ethnic groups, especially Chinese and Malays, have been influential in effecting changes in traditional Iban adaptation. Further, the growth of the pasar as a center of administrative, commercial, service and recreational activities has resulted in a new orientation and new expectations among the Iban.

The Ibans of this District no longer can be categorized in their adaptation as "rice cultivators," for they have responded to the numbers of opportunities in almost as many ways, so that the economic organization of the Ibans is already highly diversified and promises to be increasingly more so.

361 the settlement of Bawang Assan, they described the frequency of the movements that took place prior to the final settlements.

> "We moved first to Bukit Lan, but the Rajah wouldn't let us grow rubber,[1] so we had to break up our longhouse and move to Bukit Pantu where we lived in individual dwellings (langkau). From there we moved across the Leba'an to Sungai Jabai, then to Sungai Bilat, back to Tembawai Nyiur,[2] to Tembawai Pungkang[3] and finally to Nanga Bawang Assan. Only then did we build a permanent longhouse. That's the reason why we have many temuda'" ("previous farming sites").

243 178 Unlike the Ibans of the Sut and other new areas, who cultivate hill rice as described by Freeman (1955), those in the Sibu District mainly farm wet or swamp rice (padi paya'). The juxtaposition of several factors combined in the shift of the Ibans from the cultivation of hill to wet rice. The first and most obvious is the different lie of the land in the Rejang delta, where the relatively recent deposits of alluvial soils are flat, giving way only occasionally to hills and these generally at a [77] distance of several miles from the river banks. A second factor was the introduction of rubber and the Ibans' development of rubber gardens.

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[657] [829] [1]The Second Rajah's assignment of land for twelve miles below Sibu on either side of the Rejang has been rationalized in several different ways by the Ibans who were forced to move, this being one.

[103] [2]So named because of three coconut trees that still grow there.

[823] [3]The Ibans considered this site "hot" (angat) and unlucky because of an unusual number of illnesses and deaths, for which they had to abandon their houses (pungkang, "empty").

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243 As already described, the investment of energy, time and other resources 178 [177] into the gardens required a degree of sedentariness. A third factor as we have seen was the coming of the Chinese whose settlements and land grants precluded the continuous and free expansion of the Ibans into [654] ever new lands. A fourth factor which has become important only within the last decade has been the rice schemes ("Assistance to Wet-Padi Planters"), in which aid in the form of seed, fertilizers, insecticides and advice have been given by the Agriculture Department to participants in the skim perintah ("Government schemes"). A fifth factor about which more will be said later is the greater yields to be appreciated [433] from wet rice. The Assistant Agricultural Officer for the Department in the Third Division estimates the yield per acre of hill rice to be four piculs, whereas the yield per acre of wet rice is on an average six to eight piculs, with schemes yielding as much as 16 piculs per acre.[4]

1. Rice is Life

243 771 Iban rice cultivation has been highly elaborated into a complex system of beliefs and practices. For, as Freeman has written,

> "To the Iban, the growing of padi is a ritual undertaking, and their whole system of agriculture is based on an elaborate fertility cult. . . The vast majority of the Iban people are still 'pagan', but they are, nonetheless, an extremely religious people, and ritual pervades every aspect of their lives."

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[4] Letter from Assistant Agricultural Officer, 4 May, 1971.

Opposite").[7] After a stay in Sebayan, highlighted by eating, drinking and revelling with members of the opposite sex to the heart's content, the soul then proceeds on a journey through several river networks, the most important being Mandai Mati ("Death"), Mandai Awai ("Suffering"), and, finally to Mandai Jenoh ("Peace") where the soul is changed into padi-nourishing dew, the fitting end for the Iban life.

Further, not all rice is equally valuable. Each bilik possesses padi pun or a special strain of rice ritually defined as sacred rice.[8] The planting of the padi pun takes priority over the planting of any other strain, in planting wet rice as well as hill rice.[9] Although some degree of the reverence shown the padi pun as described by Freeman (1955: 154-155) still exists among the Ibans in the Sibu District, yet they are much more casual in their handling and treatment of it than the Sut Ibans.

Distinctions between Iban rice and other varieties are frequently pointed out, in favor of the former. Kami enda' kala' makai berau China ("We never ate Chinese rice"), boasted Embuas anak Imba, a notoriously successful farmer. On the inferior qualities of non-Iban rice, Indai

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[7] Afterworld, where all is exactly reversed from this life.

[8] Any of the more than three dozen sub-species of rice can be claimed as padi pun, depending upon each family's lore.

[9] Among the more than 20,000 Ibans who have become Christians this ritual is accompanied with a planting of a wooden cross as well.

243 other than that of threshing the padi. When I asked on several occasions
285 whether the tikai senggang could be used for any other purpose, the Ibans replied emphatically that it could not, for it would offend the semengat padi.

> ". . . Grasping a loose bark-cloth strap in each hand to gain support and purchase, (the thresher) commences to tread the panicles (tangkai). The action is a vigorous one, the outer panciles being forced down on to the mat and kneaded with the bare soles of the feet. They are gathered up again with the instep and inner surface of the foot and ankle, to be trampled once more. In this way the grain (still in the hull, of course) is gradually separated from the branches of the panicles. The first treading of a bushel of panicles takes about seven to nine minutes - the time varying with the degree of ripeness at reaping."

Threshing is usually done by men, although in the absence of
[467 476] male workers women do it. If labor-exchange has been arranged for other activities, such as planting and weeding, it is usual for the group to continue through together and to share in threshing.

After the first threshing, in which many grains are loosened, women squatting to the sides of the tikai senggang lift the panicles (now called ruman) and sift any free grains through their fingers onto the mat. The panicles then are gathered up again for a second threshing by foot.

Although the Ibans are aware of and acknowledge the quicker
243 177 178 methods of the Chinese who harvest padi with a long-knife, grasping a dozen or more stalks at once and cutting them off about 15 inches from

243 the panicles, then flailing the heads over the boards of a specially
177 constructed container, they say that they dare not follow these techni-
178 ques which they consider coarse (kasar) for fear that they would offend
the semangat padi.

243 As the padi is threshed, it is spread on a bidai, a large mat
251 used especailly for drying (kerekai) the padi on the family's tanju'.
285 The padi is poured onto the bidai and raked with a wooden-bladed rake to
a depth of about one inch. Lengths of bamboo or thin saplings up to
twelve feet long are extended from the windows opening onto the tanju'
so that hungary chickens can be driven away by a swing of the bamboo
or wood. Ideally, the padi will be dried for a full day to assure that
it will not turn moldy (bekuap) in storage. The first drops of a shower
send men and women alike scurrying to cover the padi or to bring it into
the house in case of a hard rain.

243 After the padi is dried, it is returned to the ruai and covered
by folding the corners of the bidai over it. On a hot and windless day,
the padi is winnowed. The bidai is opened and the padi transferred to a
series of baka', circular baskets made of plaited rattan averaging about
one bushel in capacity. The baka' full of padi are taken one by one to
the tanju' where the winnowing is done. The bearer tilts the baka'
slightly allowing a steady stream of padi to pour over the lip into the
462 tikai senggang which have been spread to receive the padi. As one
person pours (berayar) the padi, one to three women fan (muput) winnowing-

In addition to the
285 continuous demand of the Ibans themselves for mats and baskets, the
[432] former for covering the floors when sitting, for containing the newly harvested rice and for threshing, the latter for containers for seed, harvested rice, fish and jungle produce, among other uses, they also are manufactured for sale in Sibu.[21]

222 Other jungle produce of commercial value includes a wide variety
432 of vegetables. Ibans living in the Sungai Sunga and Sungai Assan area
443 collect edible ferns each evening and bring the ferns (the most common are paku' and kemiding) bound in pineapple leaves (daun nanas) to market in the early morning. Kangkong, a leafy vegetable not unlike spinach, is plucked and sold regularly. Less regularly, Ibans bring in bamboo shoots (tubu') and the cabbages of several species of palms such as the sago (upa' mulong), upa' pantu', upa' maran, upa' apong, upa' lalis and upa' bindang.

Fishing

226 Exploitation of aquatic life provides the principal source of
[262] protein in the Iban diet. Fish, shrimps and snails are caught or trapped in the numerous streams. Various types of worms and slugs are obtained

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[484] [21] The sale of mats and baskets affords an opportunity for Iban women to visit the Sibu pasar or, occasionally, to travel as far as Sarikei, where they rationalize the prices are better - and the cost of travel thrice that to Sibu! The availability of plastics is being exploited by Iban women who weave brightly colored baskets of plastic and sell them from door to door or to local shops.

(Bilik No. 11) had five children, two of whom were adopted by his childless brothers. Adoptions between Iban and Chinese occur, in almost all cases the Iban adopting a child of a Chinese friend. In Rumah Imba, Ngelayang (Bilik No. 22) adopted Anchum, a young Chinese boy, from a friend and Anchum is heir, living with his wife in Ngelayang's bilik.

When two families agree upon adoption of one's child by the other, members of the longhouse community are informed. Offerings (piring) containing objects described previously, are made to propitiate the spirits of both families. A cock is killed and the forehead of the participants touched (digensalan) with a feather wiped in the blood. Each tuai bilik brings a symbol of life (axe, knife, cloth or other article needed to make a living) as a pledge[12] to support the arranged adoption. At the same time, the parents adopting the child are warned that if they do not fulfill their responsibilities to the child, they must repay to each tuai bilik the pledge that he has brought. Then, to the accompaniment of drum-beats, the kin-groups (kaban) of both families walk with the child the length of the ruai. The father adopting the child carries a spear over his shoulder, to indicate his bravery and as a warning to anyone who threatens his new family arrangement. The child's physical father carries a jar as a symbol of his gift. The kaban, each member of which holds the edge of a woven blanket (pua' kumbu') that unites them in one group, slope

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[12] Iban tembang (v.f., nembang), to ransom or to adopt.

597 796 [612] on each ruai where the tusi rumah or pengulu states that the adoption is taking place and warns against any interference. After travelling the length of the house, the child is led into his new bilik and received ceremonially into his new family.

597 [606] Adoptions are recognized by Government as being legal contracts made by the families involved. The Tusun Tunggu (List of Fines) provides for penalties (ukum) on the adopting father if he is irresponsible or mistreats his step-son, or for anyone else who may interfere in the adoption. [659] Adoptions usually are witnessed by the local community, but Government provides for their registration in the District Office with the payment of a stamp duty.

597 177 846 To the question of why are there relatively fewer adoptions in the three longhouses surveyed vis-a-vis the longhouses in the Kapit District, as reported by Freeman, Ibans gave two answers. First, the incidence of childlessness is lower, because of improved methods of caring for mothers and their children. An increasing number of Ibans are coming to Sibu clinics for ante- and post-natal care, as well as family planning. Information about infant care is disseminated through radio broadcasts and pamphlets. The traditional diet of rice and salt for the mother during the first month after delivery is being replaced with a more balanced diet, through instruction in clinics and example of Chinese mothers who eat a chicken a day for the first month. The score of private doctors and clinics and the Lau King Howe Hospital offers treatment for

597 infants of disease that formerly would have proved fatal, such as gastro-
177 enteritis, diphtheria, as well as other alimentary and respiratory ill-
846 nesses. Figures on the relative incidence of infant mortality rates are
[165] unavailable, but it may be noted that in the three houses surveyed the number of childless couples totalled only seven.

597 A second answer to the question is that there is less dependence
178 felt by parents on their children. That is, as the orientation to a
593 cash economy and achievement of regular income through employment takes place, there is less need felt for placing the parents' security in their old age on a child who may or may not be faithful to his adopted parents. The Employees Provident Fund or a private savings account is more dependable.

597 Although these rationalizations of the situation do not wholly
829 suffice as explanations, and adoptions still occur in childless families
178 as well as those with children, for the love and enjoyment children may
[369] offer, yet they are significant as perceptions of Ibans as to what appears as a change in the practice of adoption, viz., the incidence of adoption decreases closer to the urban center. More data are required, however, to substantiate or refute this hypothesis.

597 Adoption provides a second way to membership in the bilik-family. Adoption establishes the full rights of the new member to share in the property, to farm the land, to collect the fruit, and to all other privileges of the family.

582 (unwittingly) or marry a person with the evil eye."[13]

Traditional Iban marriage rules are clearly defined, and the forms of marriage which are preferred and those which are proscribed are commonly recognized. Marriage should be monogamous. Marriage is preferred with a member of one's bilateral kindred. Marriage preferably should be with a person who stands between the degrees of first and fifth cousin. Marriage preferably - from the parents' point of view - should be arranged by the parents of the young people involved. Marriage between siblings is incestuous, as is marriage between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren. Marriage between avuncular and nepotic relatives, or between other members of adjacent generations, is disapproved, but possible if propitiary rites are performed (besapat ka ai', berunsor).

177 Despite the clear definition of marriage rules, however, there is great flexibility in the bilateral social organization of the Iban, which is being stretched even further through contact with and borrowing from other ethnic groups in this District. From Sandin's description of adat besapat (1967:71-73), a ritual existing to be activated in case a couple stood in wrong kin relations to one another and insisted on getting married, and the relative ease with which desired unions are rationalized and arranged the agamous marriage regulations of the Iban, as other bilateral societies, give great freedom in the contracting of marriages.

[13] Suba enda' tau' enda' jadi enggau turun diri' empu, enggaika jadi mali, enggaika jadi enggau orang tau' tepang.

000 give great freedom in the contracting of marriages.

595 Generally, the form of marriage among the Iban is monogamy. However, within the Sibu District, six cases of sororal polygamy and [622] eight cases on non-sororal polygamy were discovered. In the six cases [556] of sororal polygamy, the men involved were either tuai rumah or relatively [587] wealthy. The women who became second wives all had been widowed prior to [612] taking up residence with her sister and husband. In telling me about taking his second wife, Tuai Rumah Nyambang said that,

> "our kin-groups (kaban) met together and discussed the situation and agreed that it would be all right for her to be my second wife."

Unlike those families in which sororal polygamy occurs, where the wives live together with their husband, in the case of non-sororal polygamy studied the wives live in separate residences, the husband dividing his time between the two wives. Tuai Rumah Nanggai of Sungai Assan was married for about ten years prior to his second marriage. Nanggai's first wife lives in the longhouse in Assan, and his second wife in a rented house in Sibu.

Commenting on polygamous marriages, Ganai anak Jubang of Rumah Nyala, Aup, said,

[777] > "in former times, we couldn't have more than one wife at a time. This (having two wives) is a new thing, copying the Chinese and Malays. This is a new situation since Malaysia."

584 several Ibans alluded to it as the true way of Iban marriage (nya' baru
[662] jalai Iban ke amat), an instance of the exceptional being the exemplary!

584 In a survey of 143 secondary school students who had studied in
177 Sibu between 1960 and 1970, 137 of the students indicated that they favored selecting their own spouses, with less than one-half favoring consultation with their parents about their choice. While there is little evidence of the influence of education on marriage patterns among Ibans who do not achieve as high as Form Three (Ninth Grade), there is abundant evidence of its influence upon those who study in Form Three or the higher forms.

582 Whereas a majority of Ibans marry between the ages of 15 and 17 years, 102
177 of those in the survey sample of 143 were unmarried, about half of whom had been out of school for three or more years. Further, all of the respondents indicated that they wanted a spouse who was at least literate, and 34 stated that they wanted a partner who was as well-educated as themselves. It is also significant that none of the respondents returned to
[167] longhouse domicile, and all are living either in the place of their employment or with their spouses.

582 The economic potential represented by a highly educated young
554 person abrogates and takes precedence over a low-class status or history of familial failure, making the young person highly acceptable as a candidate for marriage.

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"In the past we looked at how successful a man's (or woman's) family was in padi-farming. We wanted to know whether he was a descendant of slaves, or whether someone in his group had the evil eye. But, these things aren't remembered any more, because of education (tang, diatu' padai agi' dikingat, laban sekula)."

584 When parents or relative help arrange the marriage of children or kinsmen, a representation of the man's kin speaks on his behalf to the parents of the girl. This visit (beterang, to clarify) may or may not be accompanied with a ritual presentation of a ring (sua' tinchin) to seal the agreement between the two kin-groups. The groups fix a date for the marriage rituals to be observed (nimpoh ka hari).

585 If the girl is from a different community, on a day agreed upon the groom's relatives come to fetch the girl (ngambi' indu'). As they proceed and return, gongs are beaten so that no omen bird will be heard. The man does not go along for this is a time for the ritual union of the two kin-groups. The parents eat and drink together, ritually claiming one another as relative, ngambu' isan. Thenceforth they will address their child's parents-in-law as isan, a special term of familiarity between them expressing the interdependence between their kin-groups which they recognize. After much festivity, the girl is taken to the man's home. The climax to the marriage ritual is in the ceremonial splitting of the areca nut (melah pinang)[16] by two prosperous adults to assure

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[16] Alli Majang's Melah Pinang, Kuching, Borneo Literature Bureau, 1962, gives a thorough account of Iban ritual, beginning with a discussion of proscribed relations and followed by an account of the procedures followed in arranging Iban marriages, ending with a brief chapter on legal aspects of divorce (sarak).

585 health, wealth and many children for the couple. A successful union is further insured with a prayer spoken as a cock is waved over the head of the couple who are seated on a large gong. On the fourth day following the Gawai Melah Pinang, the couple pay a visit (nyundang pinang, take [591] the areca nut) to the home of the bride. After a visit of three nights, the couple takes up residence with either the bride's or groom's family, according to their previous agreement.

585 Although Christian churches claim a combined constituency of • 197 more than 20,000 converts among the Iban, relatively few Christian Ibans 797 marry according to church rituals. A majority of those who do so are young, educated Ibans, or the children of parents who consider the way of the church the way of progress (jalai pemansang), expressing thereby an orientation away from traditional Iban culture and an adaptation to new values. Few Christian Ibans marry according to the ritual of the church because it still is strange (lain), the regulations for giving notice and posting banns are time-consuming and troublesome, and the brief Christian ceremony isn't satisfying (enda' nyanai). Therefore, when young people do marry within the church, not uncommonly there are traditional ceremonies held also in the longhouse. It is unlikely, given the strangeness and difficulties in arranging the church ritual, that many Ibans will give up the more traditional ones described above.

585 In summary, marriage is a third way through which entrance is 592 gained to the bilik-family, and results in one spouse's commitment of

593 effect upon Iban young people, so that they disdain life in the longhouse
166 and, if at all possible, take up urban domicile.[4] "Just so they have cash
369 in the pocket," complained one irate parent, "they don't want to leave the
56 [177] pasar." One young man said in his defense.

> "Our parents don't understand that for us there is no future in the longhouse. You can't get anywhere farming, and there are too many demands upon you to allow you to accumulate anything. The whole longhouse system is cut through with local jealousies."

561 Members of the senior generation criticize young people who, to
829 them, aimlessly wander the pasar in search of work.

> "They form gangs, Api' Bayat, and work as con men. Young men work as pimps (beroka) and young girls as prostitutes."

Several older adult residents of Sibu pasar used the expression of the young people who have come to the town, Sida' idup di puchok tunggul ("They live at the end of the stump").

855 In analyzing the relationships and behavior of parents and children,
593 these must be seen in the perspective of the larger society which long has
[183] valued the independence of the individual and his achievements. Of necessity brought about by the absence of parents during the day-time, children learn to fend for themselves and their siblings at an early age.

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[657] [4] A senior government official observed that while development policies encourage the return of young people to rural areas, there are few incentives to attract them in the longhouse community.

797 829 593 Church, and government for that matter, are looked by many Ibans as analogs of the benevolent fraternalism which marks their sibling ties.

595 199 We have described already the few incidences of sororal polygamy which have occurred in this District. These represent practices which deviate from the social norms, and probably may be attributed to Chinese 589 and Malay influences. Of much more common practice is the sororate, in which a sister marries her late sister's husband. Although no cases occurred in the three houses on which concentrated studies were made, more than three dozen cases were listed within this District. No instances of the levirate, however, were found.

582 605 Because of the preference for marriages between cousins between the range of first and fifth degrees, a further note must be added. There is no pattern of avoidance between cousins, and the remarks above about siblings generally apply. Several Ibans, both from upriver areas and downriver areas, stated that marriage between patrilateral parallel cousins is tantamount to marriage between siblings, hence proscribed. While this may be the rule in some areas, it does not apply generally, for there is a large number of cases of marriage between the children of two brothers.

3. Avuncular and Nepotic Relative

601 In the first ascending generation the Iban have a lineal type of reference terminology. Both father's brother and mother's brother are called aya', and father's sister and mother's brother are called ibu'.

423 691 Litigations about land between members of the same house are settled by the tuai rumah. If they are not satisfied with the settlement, they may make an apil ("appeal") to the pengulu, who will investigate the case.

423 177 Just as land was recognized for its economic and political potential under the traditional system, acculturation has made many Ibans aware and quick to take advantage of the opportunity to sell land. Coffee-shop deals are made between Ibans looking for profit through the acquisition and sale of land.

E. Physical Layout of Household

342 621 "The most salient characteristic of Iban social organization is the practice of long-house domicile" (Freeman 1970:1). The Iban long-house is an attenuated structure comprised of a number of independently owned family units, ranging from five to seventy units. The length of the longhouse at a particular given time depends upon several factors, among them the amount of land available to new members who want to attach onto the house, the age and quality of the house, and kin- or friendship ties with members of the house.

Although the longhouse may appear to be a single structural unit, it is in fact an aggregate of independently owned family units. The materials used in the construction of the individual units of the longhouse reflect this independent character, and in the same house building materials may vary from split bamboo flooring to hardwood planks, roofing of nipa-

352 Only the poorest families do not have at least one large bed in the bilik and mattresses of kapok are increasingly common. Beds and mattresses are purchased from Chinese craftsmen in Sibu and then transported, often with much difficulty, to the longhouse. Mattresses on beds may be covered with tikai or, if they are placed on the floor, are rolled up against one of the walls when not in use. Pillows and mosquito nets complete the sleeping gear found in many bilik.

342 513 Married men and women sleep in the bilik, along with their young children. Girls always sleep in the bilik or sadau, while boys begin to sleep on the ruai from age twelve. Nursing infants sleep with their mothers and fathers or, if space in bed is inadequate, fathers sleep apart from the others, usually on the floor not far from them. In the few situations encountered of three-generation families who operate a shop, parents in the senior generation always slept in the shophouse, sometimes with a grandchild, and the intermediate generation slept in the bilik.

342 422 Most families keep their property in the bilik, and all heirlooms, such as old Chinese jars (tajau), large bronze gongs (tawak), sets of gamelan gongs (engkerumong), and the family's sacred rice (padi pun) and rice medicine are stored there or in the sadau. Increasingly, Chinese-made cupboards, desks, tables and chairs appear in the bilik. In six of the bilik at Rumah Nyala, vinyl-covered, foam-rubber cushioned chairs and couches are found. Traditional costumes and fabrics are still stored in the bilik, but now with colorful synthetic clothes in glass-doored cupboards like display cases.

[352] [171] [291]

621 contemporary society. To others, and still the majority of Ibans, the
342 longhouse system is the jalai pengidup ("way of life") that is most mean-
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183 ingful culturally. The longhouse still is an important center for social events and many persons stated their preference for the crowd and sounds of the longhouse rather than for the loneliness and silence of a separate house.
[196] Further, the longhouse is a ceremonial center for the various gawai, to
[476] return and take part. The mutual aid provided for the events of moment in the life-cycle of the individual has been adduced as another reason for the continuing popularity of the longhouse. And finally, the longhouse continues to provide an aura of security, in reality little, during the present period of terrorist activities.

Thus, the number of people who have left the longhouse community and built individual dwellings in rural areas is still relatively small and dependent upon those factors discussed as well as idio-syncratic reasons.

H. Urban Residence

The movement of an estimated 3,000 Ibans into the Sibu Urban area
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177 has resulted in their dispersion throughout the town and in several patterns
361 of residence. These patterns of residence are related to a number of factors
[162] including the presence or absence of kinsmen, length of time and purpose for coming to the town, position and income and whether quarters are furnished by the employer.

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5N Exploitation of relations and the assurance of acceptance have obvious implications for urbanizing Ibans, whether they are making visits to kinsmen for a few days or whether they are taking up residence on a permanent basis. In-migrants include both individuals and families, and a majority of these have relatives or friends with whom they put up. In interviews with Iban residents in the town, it quickly became apparent that the individual or family living in town who does not have out-of-town visitors staying with them for several days out of each week is the exceptio and many have a continuous run of house guests: kinsmen, friends, and casua acquaintances needing lodging.

In our survey of 200 Iban residents of the pasar, only 13 indicated that they were not helped with temporary lodging from a friend, kinsmen, udong or towkay upon their movement into Sibu (Table 34). Forty-seven of those who lived with friends described their hosts as former school-mates, about one-half of whom had been instrumental in helping them obtain work. Seven of those who said that they lived with friends stayed temporarily with officials of their political party. By far, most Ibans received help from members of their own ethnic group.

TABLE 34

Groups Giving Aid to In-migrants

[572
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Iban					
Kinsmen	Friends	Malay	Chinese	Others	None
49	117	7	11	3	13

195 Sarawak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Iban population increase occurred in part by natural increase and in part through the assimilation of captured members of other ethnic groups. The Melanaus, Rajangs and other former occupants of the Rejang valley were driven out, so that today, the Iban occupy what are to them the more desirable territories, and have greater access to towns and markets.

198 441 Within the past ten years, Iban traders have begun to insinuate themselves into spheres of business which previously had been the domain of the Chinese and, to a much lesser extent, the Malays. Whereas two years ago the Iban market was a joking matter among Chinese hawkers, today it is 162 the scene of a great volume of trade. And while the Iban population of [367] Sibu still tends to be a floating one, with individuals coming in to transact business in Government offices, to sell produce, or for treatment at the hospital, the number of Ibans taking up permanent residence is rapidly increasing. In the words of one man who returned to Sibu after two-years' absence,

> "Man, this isn't a Chinese town any longer. It's half Iban!"

666 177 In politics, Iban leaders such as Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Thomas Kana, Sidi Munan and Stephen Kalong Ningkan have been prominent in the formation and development of the more indigenous-dominated parties. Unfortunately, in more than a single instance, the strength of individual leaders, the conflict of "big-man" competition, and the lack of a tradition of unity built upon superordinate-subordinate relationships, has proved the undoing of group interests.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

undoing of group interests.

In this chapter we shall analyze certain aspects of Iban culture, as a system of practices, values and beliefs, which is shared among members of the society. There are some aspects of Iban culture which are shared by majority of the members, but there are dissimilarities as well in some norms, ideals and goals of the Ibans who have moved into the pasar and those who have remained in their rural communities. Iban culture has been affected through the contact of its practitioners with the cultures of other groups and through the mediating influences of the urban center. The analysis in this chapter aims to indicate those areas in which Iban culture is being affected most, and those aspects that are most resistant to other influences.

A. Self-Sufficiency

In Chapter Five, we described the importance of independence and the early training and orientation which Iban children receive in enculturation of this value. Independence-training, however, is but a single facet of a larger value which we may term self-sufficiency that includes a number of other ideals.

Through the process of enculturation, the Iban introjects the demands of his elders and peers that be be adequate to all of the demands of his roles as farmer, adventurer and community member. By word and example, boys and young men are taught the skills and courage required of them to be fully productive and participating members of society. Similarly, girls

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

871 because of two reasons. First, the Brookes were afraid that the Iban
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175 would lose their traditional culture. Secondly, they were afraid that
829 educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans, i.e., unwilling to accept without question the paternalistic Brooke administration which was weighted heavily against their advance through its stereotyping of their culture, as well as being heavily pro-Malay.

The cession of Sarawak to the British Government in 1946 resulted
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658 in a more open and equitable arrangement for the Ibans. They were permitted access to higher education, and a large number of Local Authority Schools
[369] were built. Whereas previously only a small handful of Ibans lived in Sibu prior to the cession, by 1947 their number was 259 and by 1960, almost 700.

Thus, education and wage-earning offered viable alternatives to the
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871 traditional value of self-sufficiency and status according to rice production.
464 Education, at first even at a Primary 4 or 6 level, later at higher standards,
[183] permitted the student to find employment in a number of jobs, ranging from primary school teachers to clerks in Government and companies, and even to attain to senior government positions.

[177] "To become a government employee. . .has meant many things: social status (and the titles and uniforms to match), economic security, a comfortable life with relatively modern conveniences, and, essentially, identification with a Western (rather than a native) style of life."

The initial skepticism of many Iban parents about education was overcome by reports of the employment opportunities available to students.

students to return to the longhouse, and as we have mentioned, for most young, educated Ibans there is the feeling that the traditional value of self-sufficiency cannot be realized through padi-farming, but rather through cash-employment. In light of this attitude, it is likely that an increasing number of young Ibans will move into this pasar, and that Government's urging of its "back-to-the-farm" policy is futile.

Education and employment are relatively new developments among the Iban, particularly employment on a steady salaried basis.[10] Several results are appearing. First, although kin-ties remain important to Iban mobility, a fraternity of school-mates is also appearing. In listing the person who helped them get employment and find a place to live in Sibu, almost one-quarter (or about 47) of a random sample of 200 indicated a former school-mate (Table 35). Second, among some educated Iban, there is a tendency to disparage their people's traditional culture and to abhor life in the longhouse. Third, there is a tendency for young educated Ibans to identify with the values of other ethnic groups, whose members they emulate whenever possible. We will discuss this later in the chapter when we consider acculturation. Fourth, there is appearing a hierarchy of statuses, in some cases following the traditional class structure of the Iban, in others based upon level of education, type of work, amount of salary and political clout.

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[10] Iban men have gone on pejalai for more than three-quarters of a century, but work on a regular salaried basis is a new feature.

484 Upon the return of a man from a trip offerings of thanksgiving
782 were made. In 1971, when Minggu anak Janti of Rumah Nyala returned on leave from the Commandos, a special service called niat ("Good Luck") was observed at Bukit Aup. Sacrifices were made and special food prepared to give thanks for the safe return of Minggu after months away from home.

181 Mobility among the Ibans is not limited to physical movement but
602 includes also the flexibility which marks their social organization and culture. We have discussed the relative ease of attachment to and detachment from the bilik-family, and how the very vagueness of the boundaries of the kin-group, kaban, permits inclusion of members of other ethnic groups as well as other Ibans. Ibans who marry members of other groups still are included in their natal kin-group and looked to for hospitality and other
[597] help by their kinsmen. In the problematic area of land tenure and the law which prohibits Chinese owning land in the Native Area, several pengulu have adopted Chinese men as grandsons, thereby legitimizing land holdings of the Chinese in the Native Area.

177 The adoption of values and styles of other ethnic groups also is
183 related to the cultural mobility of the Ibans, and even in remote longhouses
353 it is not uncommon to find walls plastered with pictures from the "Asia
291 Magazine" or American west coast newspapers.[21] Iban young men and women
302 are sensitive to new styles (Iban, stail), and many young men are natty dressers with long hair, low-slung flair trousers and even simulated leather

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[21] These are shipped in large quantities to local shopkeepers and used for wrapping purchases.

jackets, and girls with mini-skirts. I was surprised while in a barber's shop to spy in a mirror two young Iban males having their hair set in permanent waves (Iban, Bikaran from "current"). Whereas a generation ago young men had their ears pierced, scores of men have had operations in hospitals in Kapit and Sibu to have the distended lobes removed. During the late 1950's, a popular style among many Ibans was to have the front teeth capped with gold as a display of wealth. Some went farther and had stones in the shapes of hearts and crosses set in the gold caps. This fad has given way in the past decade to glistening porcelain dentures.

The relative endurance of a style among the highly impressionable Iban young people and even some of their adults appears to be related to its acceptance among members of other ethnic groups. What may be acceptable in the rural longhouse may be open to ridicule in the pasar, where Ibans associate with other groups to whose opinions and criticisms they are most sensitive. For example, some men may wear the traditional loincloth (sirat) in the longhouse and while working in the rural area, but would not think of wearing it to town where only those from remote areas, unlearned in the ways of the pasar, would do so. Men continue to have their hair waved or let it grow long, wear flaired or skin-tight trousers, and pointed shoes because there is acceptance of such styles among other groups. Young women wear mini-skirts, the Malay sarong and kebaya and slacks in their conformity to stail. But distended ear lobes and stone-in-gold teeth have passed because they were unaccepted by other groups who on occasion made cutting remarks about the practices.

152 The fear of shame or embarrassment (malu) is a powerful motivation among the Iban. One of the most serious offenses that can be perpertrated against an Iban is to embarrass him and similarly, embarrassing appearances
177 and situations are to be eschewed by all means possible. Thus, personal pride and a fear of shame is one factor which motivates many Ibans to
[535] identify with and emulate members of other groups and their fashions. In some communities the traditional styles of dance (ngajat) are passing, and in the evenings young people practice rumba, tuis ("twist") and konga ("conga").

[183] [152] While fear of ridicule and shame have contributed to the acculturation of some Ibans to the values of other groups, at the same time the possibility of rewards also has been a powerful factor. We have discussed the reasons behind the clamor for education and schools as a means to employment. We now will consider the entrance of thousands of Ibans into Christian churches as an example of the norms of mobility and opportunism under discussion.

175 797 Although the Roman Catholic Church has been established in the Third Division for more than a century, until recently its work has been limited primarily to the pasars and the growth of Iban constituents restricted accordingly. Despite the establishment of the Methodist Church in the Third Division by the first Foochow settlers, the entrance of Ibans into the Methodist Church began only after the Second World War. In 1949, a group of 32 Ibans, among them Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Pengarah Sibat anak Semada, and Pengulu Jinggut, three of the most powerful leaders in

the upper Rejang area, were baptized in Kapit. The first Ibans in the Sibu District to enter the Methodist Church were from Bawang Assan, where more than 250 were baptized on one day. During the past two decades, more than 16,000 Ibans of the Third Division, about 11,000 in the Sibu District and below, have masok Keristin ("become Christians").

The reasons why a majority of Ibans have joined the Methodist Church are illustrative of the importance of these two norms, for most of those who have become Christians are the more mobile[22] and have perceived opportunities for personal or group benefit through identification with the church. In discussing the reasons for the entrance of the large group from Bawang Assan one of the community leaders said that,

> "following the Japanese War, we were suspected of having collaborated with the Japanese. We knew that the British were Christians, and we wanted to be identified with them. So, after much discussion, we agreed that we could clear our names and show our identity with the British by becoming Christians."

We have discussed how the Christian church is looked upon as a benevolent fraternalism, an extension of the Ibans' model of the kin-group. Thus, the church is looked to as an agency for help in time of need. More than a score of Ibans whom I asked about their reasons for becoming Christians replied to the effect that,

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[22] Among more conservative and traditional communities, there is little interest in and response to the work of Christian churches.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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> "if we are not Christians, people won't take notice of us. If we are, we can get help. If we run out of money in the town (tesat di pasar, lit., 'lost in town'), we can borrow from someone. If we are sick, we can show our baptismal certificate and they will give us better medicine at the hospital. We can get scholarships for our children. There are many advantages to being a Christian."

It is hardly surprising that when anticipated rewards are not forthcoming, many Ibans "take a rest" (ngetu) from their Christianity. "It is for nothing that I became a Christian," said one tuai rumah. "My child wasn't given a scholarship."

More sophisticated Ibans who think less in terms of immediate rewards and more in terms of changing the total life-situation say that they [657] have become Christians "following others" (nitih ka orang). In discussing this subject with a Government officer, he said that he urged fellow-Ibans to become Christians because through that way they will become civilized and receive support from the outside. Continuing, he said,

> "if they don't become Christians, they will have to live by hunting and fishing. But if they become Christians, they can get employment for themselves and scholarships for their children."

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Identification with other ethnic groups through Christianity is evident in the taking of European names and names of saints. Whereas traditionally children were named after a grandparent to give identity to the child and unity to the kin-group, the present trend is to give children English names of persons and things. In one longhouse I encountered children named John, Rocket, Bandit and Grease-pin.

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177 The participation of Ibans in party politics is a recent phenomenon, and thoroughly illustrative of the two norms under consideration. To a real extent party membership has been determined by favor and disfavor rewards and threats as perceived by members. Consequently, as political ideology is of secondary or tertiary importance to most Iban party members, a considerable amount of shifting between parties has taken place.[23]

In 1963, Ibans comprised 32 per cent of the membership of the Sarawak People's Party (SUPP). Because of the SUPP's opposition to the plan for Malaysia and for other reasons as well, British officers brought pressure to bear upon Ibans to dissociate themselves from the party. With the establishment of Malaysia and the more favored positions of other parties, thousands of Ibans did dissociate themselves from SUPP to join the other groups.

Mobility and opportunism have been evident in the shifts in affiliation of not only individual members but also of entire branches of parties to their advantage. Although in some cases, members of the Opposition were elected while standing under the opposition party's name, they have crossed the floor to join the ruling party following their election.

E. Luck

777 The final value in Iban culture that we shall consider is a complex of attitudes and activities which we subsume under the rubric, luck. By

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[23] For a thorough discussion see Leigh, 1970:74ff.

In their attempts to ensure good luck in their work and lives, and in lieu of other means of effective control over their environment, the Ibans have highly ritualized their activities.[28] For example, there are more than two dozen rituals that must be observed for the individual from the womb to the tomb, beginning with a blessing entoned as a cock is waved over the new infant and concluding with the great mnemonic Gawai Antu. The building of a new longhouse involves more than a dozen major rituals, commencing with the "checking of the site" (ngabas taba')and climaxing with the Festival of the New House (Gawai Rumah Baru). The Iban longhouse must be built parallel to and fronting on its water supply, and constructed so that the course of the sun cuts right across the width of the house, rather than down its length in which case the house would be "hot and unhealthy" (angat).

The acceptance of Christianity by many Ibans has not been in place of but rather in addition to their old faith. The attitude of a majority of Christian Ibans is, if being Christians brought good luck to the more technologically advanced westerners, may be it will do the same for us. Thus, it is understandable that the faith and practice of the Ibans is syncretistic, with the Christian trinity placed alongside traditional Iban gods. A common sight in many longhouses is a wooden cross on the door, over which hangs a daun pingan with mysterious marks in lime, or an offering basket (kelingkang).

[28] The major rituals related to various activities number well over one hundred.

177 771 777 baskat (kelingkang). On one occasion I observed a Christian service at the farms of members of Rumah Nyala. Following the service, I noticed one man surreptitously take a chicken and return to his field where he sacrificed the chicken, beseeching Pulang Gana to give him a bountiful harvest. His rationale was that if one service didn't work for him he had better try the other.

171 787 Contact with other ethnic groups and acculturation has begun to erode the faith of many Ibans in their traditional rituals as means of ensuring good luck. Augury is rapidly disappearing in this District, for few young people are interested in learning about the birds, preferring rather to spend their evenings listening to Radio Malaysia, strumming a guitar, playing cards (daun sekerupong), or talking about the latest Government scheme and how they can get funds for their farms. Despite the syncretistic nature of Christian Iban religion, the combined influences of Christianity and science have brought about a general loss of faith in the gods of the ancestors (petara aki' ini'). In the words of one Iban farmer,

"Our Pulang Gana now is in the Agriculture Department."

[829] [369] At the same time, there has been a decrease in rituals that is almost directly proportionate to distance to the distance from the pasar; that is, the closer the community is to the Sibu pasar and subject to its influence, the less attention is given to traditional ritual activities.

181 deriving therefrom; cooperation for the benefit of the group and competition
183 for maximization of individual situations; the ideal of the equality of the self vis-a-vis others; the encouragement of mobility and opportunism through speech and example; and an activistic approach to obtaining good luck in their undertakings, many Ibans have found in their traditional culture values which have been pre-adaptive for their participation in modern society. Some have related to modern society through adjustments in behavioral patterns in rural areas. Others have entered the pasar, where despite numerous changes, they still have maintained their ethnic identity.

128 We now will consider the characteristics of those Ibans who have moved into the pasar, together with brief biographical accounts of four individuals who have been selected as being representative of those who retain their residence in the rural areas and commute daily to Sibu, and those who have moved into Sibu for work and study.

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177 Enchul anak Rengga, Apai Jimmy, of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, is representative of those Ibans who retain their residences in rural areas but have become intimately related to the values of the mercantile society of Sibu. For the insights that it may afford us, we will consider his life and work in detail, to understand both Enchul as an individual and those aspects of his personal history which reveal the effects of the pasar on the urbanizing Ibans.

Enchul was born in the old house of Rumah Imba, Salim, in about [563] 1932.[11] He had four brothers, one of whom was an adopted Chinese. Enchul's father died when Enchul was fourteen. All of the brothers married out of their natal bilik except his adopted Chinese brother who still lives with Enchul's mother in Rumah Imba and takes care of her.

Following his father's death, Enchul went to school at Bawan for about six months. He was older than the other students and embarrassed about studying with younger boys, but he was determined to learn to read and write which he did in six months. While in school he also studied arithmetic (sam) and after returning to his home a Chinese shopkeeper taught him how to keep accounts and to do simple figuring. He gave him advice on how to buy and sell so as to make a profit.

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[11] Until recently, Ibans kept no records of births, these being remembered by residential sites or areas of farming when a child was born.

Enchul went travelling (bejalai) to see more of the country and to learn as much as possible through his trip. He worked at Miri for three months painting pipes for pumping gas from the shore to ships and then went to Baram where he worked for five months, tapping rubber on the edge of the jungle. After he had saved enough money for his return and to begin trading, he returned to Salim.

After his return to Salim, his mother arranged for him to marry his third cousin who lived in Sengan. In 1952, Enchul was married and because his wife was an only child, the adopted daughter of her parents, he went to live in her bilik. Before going on his trip, Enchul has saved M$1,400 and he had accumulated another M$ 400 during his travels. He had tried to save the money because he had been told by the Chinese shopkeeper how much money he would need to set up shop for himself. Enchul's father-in-law already had obtained a license to trade in the Sengan area, but hadn't opened a shop because he knew that he couldn't carry it on alone and he didn't trust any of his peers. Therefore, when Enchul married his daughter, his father-in-law agreed for him to open a shop off their tanju'.

Enchul's shop has done a steady trade and he attributes his success to a basic self-sufficiency in rice production. In his words,

> "I never have had a bad year or a year when I didn't get enough rice to carry through until the next harvest. I have never known want (bulan gantong sendok). Therefore, because I didn't have to buy rice, and often had enough to sell, I have been able to save and to invest my money. Year by year, I have

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[829]

been able to build my capital and reserves. Also, I have been thrifty and not wasteful- not seeing movies or playing around with women, because I figure I am already married."[12]

Enchul's wife and parents farm both swamp and hill rice and have good harvests from each. Unlike ninety per cent of the members of his [829] house, Enchul has a surplus of rice every year. In his opinion, successful farming is a matter of planting and hard work.

> "The reason why only about one-tenth of the people in our house succeed in farming is that the others don't undertand the conditions for farming. Some farm too early, others too late. Some clear but don't weed, some weed but don't harvest. Others start their farms after we are finished. It's not so much a difference in luck or land. We farm the same kind of land as others who are unsuccessful in farming, and we get rice. It depends on hard work (tulang, lit. "bone"), not land. Those who are short of rice aren't unlucky but just don't farm or don't know how to farm."

[437] Because of their outstanding success in farming, Enchul's family often provides rice for other families in the house in exchange for labor, at a rate of one gantang (M$2.20) per day.

Unlike many other Ibans who sold their land near the roads as soon as they were opened, Enchul bought all the land he could afford. He and Enbuas ank Inba have gone together and purchased all of the land two lots

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[12] Enchul is a keen cock-fighter, taking off each Sunday for Oya Road or Durin, making up losses suffered in betting thro·h fares he carries to and from the fights.

159 deep from Mile 5½ to Mile 8½ on the Durin Road.
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[829]

> "Most Ibans don't know how to handle the changes that are happening. An Iban sells his land for M$1,000 and then hands it right back to the Chinese when he buys things from him. I tell the people in my house that on Chinese New Year the Chinese go to Tua Peh Kong (Deity of the Earth) and give thanks for us Ibans."

The first years after Enchul opened his shop were hard and filled with heavy work. He and his wife farmed, and he tried to get his shop going. He paddled a longboat down the twisting, log-choked Sengan to the mouth of the Menyan[13] where he loaded his cargo of rubber onto a motor launch going to Sibu. The trip from his house to Sibu took two days. He spent one day in Sibu doing business, and then returned to Sengan, arriving home late on the fifth day after he had left. When able, he hired two helpers, a prowsman and a bailer. After three years, he had saved enough to buy a small (5½ horsepower) outboard motor.

In 1960, Enchul had saved enough money to buy a rice-mill, explaining that he thought it was too much trouble for women to have to pound rice in the traditional way or to have to take the padi down to Nanga Menyan to have it husked. The mill is still in use and people who use it pay Enchul one dollar per picul to husk their rice.

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[13] In 1958 during one of the worst droughts in the history of Sibu, I travelled up the Sengan with Enchul, the trip from the mouth of the river to Rumah Gaong taking ten hours.

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After purchasing the rice-mill Enchul still had money left and invested M$400 in two tracts of land west of Rumah Gaong. He built a cattle-shed and bought fourteen head of cattle, a hearty type that could live on the scrub-grass of his land.[14]

After he had bought the cattle, Enchul heard that the Government was going to open a road to Oya. He began to plan immediately to buy a car realizing that it would be easier to travel by land than by water. In 1966, after the road had been cut through the forest some three miles distance from Rumah Gaong he bought an Austin van for M$9,850.

> "I studied how to drive - really hard - because at that time we Ibans didn't know how to drive a car. I didn't hire a teacher, but studied with Chinese with whom I was familiar, such as Ah Lin and Teh Ong, a tailor on Channel Road. Because they hadn't seen an Iban driving a taxi or car for profit, they didn't charge me, figuring that I was just going to play with my car."

After he thought that he knew enough, Enchul went to Sibu and made arrangements to take a test for his license. He and three of his companions met a Chinese who said to them,

> "Never mind taking the test. If you will give me one hundred dollars each, I can get your licenses for you."

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[14] Enchul has planted three species of grass obtained from a Government center to supplement the sparse grass and shrubs of his land.

159 The four Ibans gave the Chinese one hundred dollars each and he told them
167 that on the day of the test, all they had to do was to go in to the
177 License Office and pick up their licenses. He said that he didn't work in the office but had a friend who did and could issue the licenses without a test for that amount.

> "He took our money and took off for Brunei where he still is. Needless to say, we didn't get our licenses and were out one hundred dollars apiece."

Realizing that there was no easy way to obtain his license, Enchul decided to prepare himself for the test. But rather than taking the test immediately, he went to the testing office and lounged around while others were asked questions about laws of the road and driving. Most of his friends and many others failed the tests. When Enchul thought that he knew the answers to all the questions that possibly could be asked him, he took the test and to the surprise of Chinese and Ibans alike, passed the first time. He began driving his car, hauling goods for sale in his shop or for his own use, and carrying friends to and from Sibu.

When he heard about the Class Twelve License for taxi drivers, Enchul began his pursuit of it. The first two times he took the test he failed.

> "I figured that people who lived in the city had ways of passing, so I asked some of them about how to get the license. On 30 March, 1971, I took my test and passed it with great trembling and fear. I paid (the man) who taught and recommended me M$300 and smaller sums to other men with whom I studied and asked questions."

159 With the Class Twelve License, Enchul plans to operate a taxi on the
167 Durin Road, looking ahead to the time when he is too old or inclined not
177 to farm or tap rubber.

Enchul takes great pride in his son and daughter, both of whom passed the Common Entrance Examination and entered the Sibu Rural Secondary School. Because his own education was limited, he recognizes the potential values of higher education in the intensely competitive employment situation in Sarawak, and also in terms of the general knowledge which may be useful in what ever activities they undertake.

[829] "A lot of children don't understand how to study and aren't encouraged by their parents, because the parents don't understand the benefits of education beyond the possibility of their children getting a salaried position and they, the parents, living off the money their children make. 'If the father is speckled, the child will be speckled' (Enti' apai buik, Burik anak ia). If the parents know how to plan and work, the children will also. But for the most part, we Ibans don't know how to plan in terms of long-range goals."

Enchul has achieved prominence in his longhouse community where
[554] his family is the most successful. His prominence is predicated on successive annual harvests of surplus crops of rice, and an unexcelled longevity in profitable shopkeeping. His daily trips to Sibu provide him with income from fares as well as with valuable contacts with friends. He is a familiar person to Chinese and Ibans alike on Channel Road, and representative of those Ibans who are adapting to the pasar, and in many respects acting as cultural brokers, while maintaining their residences in the longhouse communities.

000 We now shall consider the Ibans who for various reasons have moved into Sibu where they have taken up their residences.

C. Residents

162 A majority of the 200 Ibans in our sample have come into the
167 town from the Third Division. Twenty-nine came from the First and Second Divisions, two from the Fourth and one from the Fifth Division. Of the 168 persons from the Third Division, 81 or almost one-half came from the Sibu Rural area, and the other 87 from the other districts of this Division.[15]

167 The predominance of Ibans from the Sibu Rural area may be attributed
177 in large measure to the much longer and closer contacts, they have had with
464 the pasar. Living closer to the town, they have become job-wise and employment seekers and their relative proximity to the pasar has provided them with greater access to information about openings. As one young Iban man commented,

[829] "Whenever there is even a hint of some vacancy, Ibans swarm around the office like flies around sugar. By the time people from farther away hear about the opening, we already have it."

Further, the positions that have been obtained give the employees a chance to help secure placement for their kinsmen and friends. For

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[15] The persons from other districts in the Third Division include six from Sarikei, 21 from Binatang, 23 from Kanowit, 13 from Song, 20 from Kapit, and four from Mukah. I am aware that persons from other districts as well reside in Sibu, but they were not encountered in this sample.

example, a recent vacancy in a council office attracted 61 applications from young men. The man finally selected for the position did not have ostensibly higher credentials than other applicants, but by his own admission had a friend on the selection committee who helped him get the job.

A majority of the Ibans who have come to Sibu from the First and Second Divisions are employed in government or military service. They have come by transfer or appointment to Sibu, having been recruited in their home districts or divisions. The two persons from the Fourth Division are government employees and the man from the Fifth Division is a member of the Sarawak Rangers.

Residence of the persons sampled follows the type of employment (Table 15, p. 197). Government employees live in the main in quarters provided for them, though in some cases provision is made for their renting other quarters. Most other residents occupy rented rooms alongside the numerous side-roads off Lanang and Queensway Roads. As noted, there is no area that can be called an Iban ward, though our sample revealed a large number of Ibans living off Kai Peng and Mission Roads, because of the accessibility of these two roads to the pasar.

Of the 200 Ibans surveyed, 119 have had some formal education, ranging from a minimum of one year to a maximum of Doctor of Medicine from Ottawa University. Fifty-four have studied in primary school, 28 of whom completed Primary Six and stopped after failing the Common Entrance Examination. Sixty-two attended secondary school, 23 studying through Form Three and failing the Sarawak Junior Examination. Three of

871 the residents have been to universities abroad.
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177 Only one of the 29 persons from the First and Second Divisions has had no education, the high incidence of schooling in this sub-sample reflecting the much longer history of education in those Divisions. The other 80 uneducated Ibans are from the Third Division. Thirty-seven of that number are women including the ten who described themselves as self-employed and seven of the waitresses and bar-girls.[16] The remaining uneducated women are housewives. Of the 44 uneducated men, 18 are construction laborers, five are trishaw drivers, and 21 are in the Sarawak Rangers.

871 It is interesting and significant to note that two of the con-
464 struction laborers have had seven and nine years of education each but,
167 unable to find other work, they have taken up manual labor. This is in-
177 dicative of a certain category of urban resident who, though small in number at present, will increase greatly over time. These are secondary school-leavers of whom more and more will find their ways into the towns. We have discussed (page 192) the separate survey of students who attended aided secondary schools in Sibu between 1960 and 1970. As noted in that discussion, none of the 143 who returned the questionnaire have taken up residence in the longhouse. The over-saturation of the market with

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[548] [16] Three of the bar-girls have had Primary Four education and one has studied in Form One. Generally, however, girls becoming self-employed prostitutes or bar-girls have low educational backgrounds and no other way that they can see to "advance themselves" (ngemansang ka diri').

secondary school-leavers, however, has changed this situation, so that within the past two or three years, a number of these young people, and especially from poorer quality private secondary schools, have had to return to their longhouse communities. In many instances such school-leavers have been disillusioned with the social situation in which they have found themselves, having anticipated employment which they could not obtain. They find adjustment to life in the longhouse difficult if not impossible keeping their eyes open to any opportunity for employment outside. Many find themselves so at odds with the interests and goals of their elders and peers as to conclude that they have no future in the longhouse. They drift back into Sibu where they form small gangs and live by their wits, hanging around the streets until some opportunity presents itself. Many more of this type of resident will manifest themselves in the future in Sibu.

Almost three-fourths (148) of the persons surveyed were found to be married. This is not surprising given the virtual universal practice of marriage among the Ibans, many of whom marry by age 15. Of the total sample, 119 men and 29 women were married and living with their spouses in Sibu. A little more than half (76) of the men came to Sibu before their families, leaving their wives and children in the rural areas until they found work and housing and then moving them into Sibu.

While only three persons indicated that their marriages had been arranged by their parents, almost eighty per cent (117) married persons from their home longhouse or from some other rural community. Twenty-six

584 persons have married in the pasar, in most cases their spouse being some
167 one whom they met at the place where they work. Four persons indicated
177 that they married school-mates, and one man met his wife at a party.

593 Responsibility for parents continues to be a concern for a large
167 majority of the urban Iban residents. This is revealed in the fact that
177 in only ten cases had the couples not discussed their marriages with their parents and settled the matter of who would marry out (sapa ke nguai).
591 In a significant shift away from the predominance of uxorilocal residence,
167 such as we found in Rumah Nyala (Table 23) in 86 of the married persons
177 surveyed the woman had married out, and in 52 cases the man had married out. When asked about the reason why the woman married out, in most cases the reply was that she follows her husband (nitih ka laki ia) who is the wage-earner, so that there is little argument that can be made on the part of the woman's parents for the man to nguai. It is important to note that in the case of Rumah Nyala, the woman maintained her residence in the longhouse, whereas in the cases under present discussion she has moved to the pasar.

[888] The incidence of ten couples who had not discussed the matter of their residence and responsibility with their parents is important in that it represents an abdication of accountability for aid to the older generation.[17] As more couples arrange their own marriages in the pasar,

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[17] The fear of this abdication of accountability and responsibility has been encountered often when discussing the movement of Ibans into town for education and employment. In the words of one old man, "We know that if our children go into town, they no longer will think about us and help us. But there's nothing that can be done about it."

591 it is anticipated that more cases of neolocality will occur, with no dis-
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177 cussion and definition of which spouse marries out.

In fifteen instances, there is frequent visiting between the
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167 parents and couple. In three cases, the parents live with their children
177 to all intents and purposes, returning only occasionally to the longhouse.
606 In the other twelve cases, the wife pays frequent visits to either her parents' home or the home of her parents'-in-law, helping them with work, food and attention.

More than three-fourth (168) of persons asked indicated that they help their parents with money, food, clothing or work. While the veracity of such statements is difficult to certify, from observations in several families it would appear to be true generally that most children take some responsibility for their parents in the rural areas. I have often seen parents bring money orders into the post office, having received them from their children in Malaya. Residents in Sibu frequently buy coffee, sugar and other foodstuffs as well as clothing for their parents and younger siblings. It may be expected that this pattern of partial support of children for parents will continue, in the absence of any other social security for the rural elderly.

A little over three-fourths (155) of the total sample indicated
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177 that they preferred to live in the pasar, and would not return to the
829 longhouse community. The primary reason given for preference of life in the pasar was the greater economic opportunity. Several stated that life in the rural area is too precarious: a rice crop may fail and the price

167 of rubber may vacillate; food may or may not be available. But in the
177 pasar, there is no shortage of food and there are ways to get money with
829 which to buy it.

Secondary reasons given for preference of life in the pasar are
[758] related to medical facilities and education. Several persons said that the unhygienic conditions of the longhouse and the lack of medical aid
[871] influenced their decisions to live in the pasar. Others said that the standard of education in rural schools is of such poor quality that the only chance for children is to get them into urban schools, beginning preferably at the kindergarten level.

Interestingly, many of the long-time residents of Sibu stated
[186] their preference for life in the longhouse. In several examples of informants saying one thing but doing another, men who have lived in Sibu for more than 20 years maintain that the only place where young people can become "true Ibans" is in the longhouse. A majority (43) of those who chose rural life are in the Sarawak Rangers. They indicated that they would serve out their time with the Rangers and then retire on pension to their longhouse communities. Only time will tell whether they return to the longhouse or continue to live in Sibu or some other pasar.

159 We now will consider in turn the examples of three residents of
167 Sibu, who are representative of the larger population of Ibans. In the
177 case of the last two, pseudonyms are used. These individuals personify many of the patterns of behavior and characteristics of the urbanizing Ibans and, it is hoped, will help to give more concreteness to elements

already discussed about the Iban population as well as social and cultural norms.

Anyau Bakit is representative of a large number of Ibans who have established their residences in Sibu, having found employment in various government departments or with companies. A man of quick mind and high ambition, he is one of the best-known Iban residents in the town.[18]

Anyau was born on 1 September, 1917, "of a middle class family," near Stras in the Binatang District. His family was neither very poor nor very rich, and had moved to Stras from the Second Division to escape the predations of more hostile Ibans (see quotation, page 83). His recollections of his childhood are a mixture of hardship, owing primarily to occasional shortages of food, and happiness, with a relatively close family life and playmates. While he was still young, his family moved to Nanga Nansang where they farmed, bringing him into contact with the large Iban community at Bawang Assan where many of his later ties were formed.

When he was eight years old, he entered the Roman Catholic Mission school in Sibu where he did well in his studies and his quickness was perceived by his teachers. He was one of the first Ibans in the District to attend school, a fact of which he is quite proud. In 1929 and 1930, he attended St. Thomas' School in Kuching, returning to Sibu in 1931 and

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[18] In 1971, Anyau was selected to serve on the Public Service Commission for a term of three years and now is living in Kuching, though he still maintains his home in Sibu.

159 completing his seventh standard in 1934 in the English Department of
167 Chung Hua School.
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[829]

> "Because of the Rajah's policies about Iban education at that time, I couldn't continue my education. He was afraid that educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans."

Having been away from his parents and life in the longhouse for almost ten years, Anyau returned home,

[829]

> "to acquaint (myself) with the customs and life of my people. Though only a few of the native boys went to school and possessed such academic qualifications at that time . . . I had to humble myself and mix freely with the poor and rich people alike."

In early 1936, Anyau was recruited for work by the government. He was appointed a Forest Guard, a position which he held for one year,
[584] when he left the service in order to marry his first wife, Piah. Piah was the sister of Jonathan Banggau, whose family had seen Anyau's ability and diligence and, in the words of a mutual friend, "wanted Anyau for a
[586] member of the family." The marriage lasted for several years before the couple were separated, at about the same time as Anyau took up a position as a Sarawak Native Officer (kunsil) and was posted to Binatang.

In line with the Third Rajah's policy of including more non-Malays in administrative positions, Anyau states that he was due to be appointed to the position of District Officer when the Japanese invaded Sarawak.

[177]

> "My life has been plagued with bad luck. Each time I worked diligently towards a good position, only to see it taken away from me just as it was within my grasp."

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Shortly after the Japanese invasion, Piah died. Following the period prescribed for a widower to show respect to his late wife and her family (entebalu), the kinsmen of Inoh made arrangements for her and Anyau to be married. Anyau was childless by both of his wives, so he and Inoh adopted three children, two daughters and a son, Mas, Nancy and Julian.

Following the surrender of the Japanese in 1945, Anyau was seconded to work with the British Military Administration as a correspondent in Labuan. Upon his return to the Third Division in early 1946, he took up a teaching post in the Bawang Assan Local Authority School. He taught in the Bawang Assan school for nine years, working also as an inspector of native schools in the Sibu District.

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> "I was proud indeed because Bawang Assan school under my supervision was making steady progress since 1946 to 1954, and it was noted with credit for being able to send more than 80 per cent of its students for secondary education to Batu Lintang Training College, Kuching."

In November, 1954, Anyau was called to work in the Cooperative Development Department, and held the post of Cooperative Officer. Taking up residence in Kampong Baru, Sibu, he travelled widely in the Third Division, encouraging Ibans,

> "to become productive and thrifty in order to uplift their standard of living as other communities such as the Chinese and others."

In 1960, Anyau entered the more formalized political activities by standing for election to Council Negri. A man of small resources, he could not compete with other candidates, especially in the giving and promising of favors for votes, and he lost.

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159 promising of favors for votes, and he lost. He continued work in the
167 Cooperative Office until 1967, when he retired after twenty five years
• 177 and eight months service.

> "I insisted to obtain retirement earlier due to the fact that I was requested by my native people to take up politics as they have ... confidence that I could be a good leader in the country."

Anyau's integrity soon was to be put to the test, when he was appointed a member of a small commission to adjudicate a land dispute of major proportions in the Third Division. Living on his small pension at the time, he was offered a sizable gift if he would render decision in favor of one of the parties. He refused to accept the gift, maintaining that,

> "my motto is to be fair with others and honesty is the best policy."

When elections were announced in Malaysia for 1969, Anyau was in-
[665] clined to align himself with the opposition party, SNAP. He was prevailed upon by Dato Ling Beng Siong, a prominent Chinese timber tycoon, philanthropist and Alliance member, to work for him in the Pesaka Party Office in Sibu. A strong individualist and utterly loyal to his benefactor, Anyau occasionally found himself at odds with some of the party members. As a result, when the selection committee met to put up their candidates, another man was chosen to run in the ward in which Anyau wanted to stand.
[666] Undaunted, Anyau stood for election as an independent under the sign of

159 the clock.[19] Again, however, he could not compete against the campaign
167 of his opponent and lost the election.
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[666] Following the election, Anyau had considerable time on his hands in which to consider other ways to gain a position in government. Although himself Christian,[20] Anyau's lengthy residence in the Malay kampong, his numerous contacts with members of the ruling Alliance, and his unquestioned integrity, placed him in a favorable position for consideration to a government post. After the several disappointments in his quests as a civil servant and politician, he deemed it only just when he received word that he had been appointed to the prestigious Public Service Commission,[21] a post for which he is eminently qualified. His perseverance and patience have brought to him the rewards which he has sought.

Callisto Barin is a school-leaver from the Kapit District. Like many other young people for a variety of reasons, she is disinclined to

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[19] One of the several signs related to candidates to help illiterate voters identify the candidates of their choice.

[797] [20] Anyau was one of the men responsible for the entrance of more than 250 Ibans of the Bawang Assan community into the Methodist Church in 1953, seeing in Christianity a way of "progress and civilization."

[21] A commission that serves to review promotions for all government employees, the members of the P.S.C. receiving substantial salaries and allowances.

159 return to her longhouse and now is living with her husband in Sibu where
167 they met.
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Berin was born on the 3rd of July, 1953, near Nanga Entuloh off
599 the Balleh. Even before Berin was born, her mother dreamed that she should give Berin to another woman some distance from their home. She was the youngest of 14 children. When she was one week old, she was taken to her foster-mother,

> "because she had been awaiting my birth. Fortunately my foster-mother had herself just given birth but her child had died, so she was brave enough to take me, and had the milk to nurse me."

159 Berin has strongly ambivalent feelings about her childhood in the
167 longhouse of her foster-parents. Her best friend was a little boy, Wilfred
177 Nyawai, who was about the same age as Berin. The two played and as often
855 fought together.

> ". . . I was a quarrelsome child and quick to scold others. . . Because Wilfred was a boy and stronger, he often beat me. However, we were good friends, playing together with his sisters and with his grandparents and mine."

As she grew older, her mother left her in care of her sister-in-law while she went to the farm. According to Berin, her sister-in-law resented her and the responsibility of having to look after her.[22]

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[22]Having doubts about the veracity of some of Berin's life history, I sought out her cousin who verified all parts of it, corroborating her reluctance to return to the longhouse because of the differences between her and her adopted family.

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"When I was left with my sister-in-law, I lost a lot of weight. Because, according to what people told me, my sister-in-law didn't look after me, and I was fed by people on either side of my bilik. Our neighbors took care of me, seeing to my needs of eating, sleeping and comforting me when I cried. I often had trouble: my mouth was burned because the milk was too hot, my stomach was scratched, and my knees, shins and arms were marked by my falling and because no one cared for me."

On two occasions, Berin almost drowned in the swift water near her home when she followed other people into the water. When her mother realized that her sister-in-law no longer could be trusted to care for her, she left her in charge of other people in the longhouse.

In 1961, Berin entered Temenggong Koh's school. Her mother took her to school in the morning and came for her each noon.

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"(Each day) she brought me a bottle of milk because even though I was already in Primary One, I was still nursing. I didn't go off the bottle until I was in Primary Two. I often was scolded by the teacher because I would say that I had to relieve myself when in fact I wanted to get the bottle."

Berin became close to two of her classmates: Marietta Adang and Margaret Mia, both of whom were the same age as Berin. Whatever the one said the other two would do.

During the first years in primary school, she learned to be more independent.

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"I learned the difference between 'yes' and 'no,' to be ashamed (malu), and the spirit of competition because I did not want to be defeated by my friends (enggai alah ari pangan), both of whom were very keen in school."

Berin was very close to Wilfred, Margaret and Marietta, but she did not make friends easily. The three were her only friends until she reached secondary school.

[164] In the third grade, Berin contracted typhoid fever and couldn't attend school for a month. She was seriously ill for about a week. Because of the harvest, her mother had to spend the night away and the people who had been asked to look after her didn't do so. During the night she became delirious and thrashed wildly about in her bed. Luckily the people in the next bilik heard her and came in to care for her. The people went to the farm though it was night and brought Berin's mother back, for they didn't know whether she would live. She recovered but the illness severly weakened her.

Like many Iban children, Berin was sensitive to scolding and particularly by members of her adopted family. Once while washing a glass, she dropped it and it broke on the floor. Her sister-in-law was angry with her, grabbed a piece of burning wood and stuck it onto Berin's hand. The next evening she dropped a brass lamp which fell and broke a plate. Her foster-mother got a broom and swept Berin's face with the broom.

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"Because of the troubles that had befallen me on those two successive evenings, I felt that there was no one who loved me and didn't care if I lived or died. Even though they had fed and cared for me for a long time, at that time their love meant nothing to me. I ran from the bilik not knowing where to run. Feeling that I had nowhere to go, I flung myself off the tanju'. My uncle had followed me and as I leaped, he grabbed my arm and hair and kept me from falling. He took me to his bilik where I stayed for a while."

[73] In 1966, Berin's house was hit by a flash flood. She was alone in the house and terrified as the water rose.[23] Fortunately, her section of the longhouse withstood the flood and by climbing above the rushing waters she saved herself. The same year, Margaret Andang died leaving only Marietta of Berin's close girl friends.

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Berin's happiest experiences were spent with the girls of her longhouse. With them she would gather various types of fruit of season, fish with baskets and pound derris root, and collect jungle ferns.

". . . More than all other things I loved to play asin (cross-catch) and passing the stone. I really enjoyed those games."

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At the end of her sixth year of school, Berin failed to pass the Common Entrance Examination. Though she thought that she couldn't go on

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[23] Flash floods in many upriver areas can be awesome experiences; for example, in 1970 a flood hit the Menuan River just below Kapit, sweeping a recently constructed bridge and seven units of one longhouse before it.

159 to school, she was given a work scholarship to the Methodist Secondary
167 School, Kapit, and lived in the Girls' Hostel. Her experiences away
177 from home were rewarding in the friendships that she made, particularly with the hostel mother. During the school holidays in her first year, she returned to her longhouse to help tap rubber and with farm work.

> "When the illipe nuts were in season I gathered as many as possible. I worked hard for I realised how much I was indebted to the family who had raised and cared for me. At the same time I realized how much I had suffered at their hands. . .For the past few holidays, I haven't gone back to my foster-parents because they haven't care whether I returned or not."

In 1969, Berin took the Sarawak Junior Examination and failed it. When the opportunity appeared for her to enter a private school in Sibu,
[152] she accepted. Again, she became very close to the hostel mother though her relations with her peers were strained and complicated by unresolved conflicts towards her mothers[24] and herself.

> "I met (the hostel mother) here and she has become my friend so that I don't have any more longings to go back to my mother who gave me birth."

During her second year in the private school in Sibu, she met a member of the security forces to whom she was attracted. He in turn was attentive to her, taking her on dates, giving her presents and a fun-time

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[24] In relating her life history, Berin made several remarks about her desire to "return to the mother of my birth." It is significant that the only adult male figure to appear in her account is her uncle.

159 in the town. After about one year's courtship, they became engaged and
167 Berin dropped out of school to marry him. Because she was a Methodist
177 and he a West Malaysian Muslim, they had a civil marriage. When Berin refused to even consider returning to her longhouse, they have established their residence in Sibu awaiting the end of his tour of duty in Sarawak when they will move to West Malaysia.

Although Berin's case has a number of unusual features about it, by no means is it exceptional. Rather, it serves to illustrate the breach in expectations that often occurs between members of the older generation who are more oriented to traditional norms and members of the younger generation who are more open to new values. In Berin's case, the interpretations that she has made of her family relations are satisfactory rationalizations to her of a situation to which she is unwilling and unable to return. Despite the estrangement that she depicts between herself and her adopted family, her foster-mother fully expected her to return to the bilik, and Berin in Sibu as soon as she heard of the marriage. This expectation was based on the fact that Berin now is the only child of her bilik-family and was looked to as the parents' heir and supporter in old age. Nevertheless, Berin's orientation now is away from the longhouse community and it is doubtful that she will return to that pattern of life except for occasional visits.

Johnny anak Maling was born just after the end of the Japanese occupation at Sungai Tutus, a tributary of the Igan River. Malin, his father, had been born at Tutus and his mother, Rani, had been born at

159 Bungan farther down the Igan. Meling and Rani are first cousins, and
167 their marriage was arranged by their parents. Johnny has four brothers
177 and one sister, all of whom are living the same house as their parents.

Johnny's family was very close, the relations between the siblings most amiable. They played together with other children of the longhouse and other than for small incidents, Johnny remembers no fights or disagreements that marred their life. Though Johnny and his wife have lived in Sibu less than two years, all of his siblings as well as his parents have visited him.

His schooling ended withe Primary Four because he was disinterested in the subjects which he had to study.

> "My favorite subjects were drawing and art. The other lessons were difficult and I just couldn't get them. So I stopped school after Primary Four."

With abundant land and an adequate labor force, Johnny's family has never had to buy food. Growing wet rice on two principal areas which they farm alternate years, they always have been able to live off their own rice and never have been forced to buy rice in Johnny's memory. His mother, sister and other women in the community are the principal farm workers, so that the men are released to seek other forms of employment.

After he stopped school, he joined his father in working for a sawmill near their home. When work at the sawmill was cut back and they were laid off, the two of them and other men from their community went to other areas for work in logging and sawmills.

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When he was sixteen Johnny was married following the traditional pattern of courting (begayap). After he had visited the girl whom he wanted several times at night and she had agreed with his intentions, he made arrangements through his parents for them to ask the girl's parents. Agreement was reached, and a Gawai Melah Pinang was held. The marriage lasted two years after which the girl returned to her parents' bilik.

Johnny remarried when he was twenty but the second time with less ceremony. He gave his new wife a gold ring, paid one dollar and informed the tuai rumah and tuai bilik (beterang ka tuai) that they were marrying. Like Johnny, his second wife also had been married and divorced.

Johnny continued to work for the sawmill near his home until he was 23. Hearing an announcement that the Field Force was recruiting personnel, he applied and to his delight was accepted.

> "I wasn't needed for farm work and I was tired of working at the sawmills. That work is hot and heavy, the days long and the wages low, so I figured that I would rather get into something else. That's the reason why I signed on with the Field Force."

When he and his wife moved into Sibu in May, 1970, their quarters were not ready. They were housed together with other recruits and their families in the new shophouses along Lanang Road. Upon completion of the Field Force barracks they moved to the Lanang Camp in May, 1971.

Because of his work in sawmills throughout the Third Division, Johnny knows a large number of Ibans, Chinese and Malays with whom he has worked. Many of these men he has met in Sibu and they visit him and

159 frequently have drinks together in the numerous pasar coffe shops. Johnny
167 and his wife go to the pasar whenever possible, their favorite pastimes
177 being going to the movies (especially Hindustani) and sitting over a drink in the coffee shops, watching the people go by.

159 Johnny's parents and his wife's visit them about once a month,
594 bringing rice, palm cabbages and other vegetables. Other members of their
167 home community stay with them from a night to a week, and sometimes longer,
177 when they are in Sibu on business or keeping a sick relative in the hospital. Such visitors are welcome and repay their hosts with bags of rice, fruit which may be in season, fish, pork, and vegetables.

> "I never charge them for staying with me, for that wouldn't be right according to Iban adat. Besides, they bring in food to help and I am glad to see them."

159 Johnny enjoys the security of a regular income, though by his
167 calculation, his salary of M$ 160 a month is not very much. Of this a-
177 mount, he gives about M$ 30 each month to his parents. Despite what he
465 considers to be a rather low salary, he feels that this is better than the uncertainity of other activities.

> "When I was younger, we Ibans put emphasis upon farming. Now, it's education. Formerly, people wanted a son-in-law who was strong so that he could help them with farm work. Now they aren't choosy just so he earns wages. In the past parents wanted to know from which family a man came. Now, they want to know how much his salary is each month."

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177 Johnny's wife is not employed, but he gives her a small amount for herself above their food money. As often as not he buys their food, a pattern that is common among many Iban families. His wife resents his going to town for no reason and his "wasting money" by drinking and cock-fighting. Otherwise, however, their relations are congenial.

He is not sure of his future. By his own evaluation, he has a good life in the Field Force. The only aspect of it that he doesn't enjoy is having to stand guard duty at night. But otherwise, he feels, his housing is provided, his salary and gifts from family and friends adequate, and he lives an easy, worry-free life near the pasar where they are things to see and do.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

128 In the Introduction to this study, questions were raised about the effects of urbanization on indigenous societies and cultures. In light of the foregoing data we are now prepared to draw conclusions about effects the emergence of Sibu as an administrative center-cum-entrepot have had on the Ibans.

177 The growth of Sibu into a bustling urban center has had a profound influence and powerful impact on the Ibans of the Sibu District and Third Division. From the time of the establishment of Fort Brooke and the forced settlement of recalcitrant Ibans under supervision of its staff, Sibu has grown in importance upon the cognitive maps of Ibans, so that today it is a center to which they repair when funds and time permit. The frequent contacts and long associations with Malays and Chinese, the other principals of the area, have led to social and cultural exchanges from which all have emerged as borrowers.

175 The Brooke strategy of population control through the construction
659 and staffing of forts at key points was highly effective in suppressing
177 traditional Iban practices of migrating and head-hunting. The forced settlement of some Ibans and the voluntary settlement of others who sought refuge from their predator peers were of immense importance in

175 light of ecological and structural changes that have occurred. Ibans
657 traditionally had practiced shifting cultivation to which the institutions
• 177 of pejalai, augury and head-hunting were related. Those who settled for whatever reasons near the fort found themselves in a situation of impeded mobility,[1] and required to undertake new forms of adaptation.

175 Ecologically, the settlement of Ibans in the District required a
243 shift from dry-rice to wet-rice cultivation among those who settled on
178 the banks of the major rivers. Alternatively, they could farm hill-rice at some distance from their homes. The shift to wet-rice cultivation was an adaptation to the flatter lands and higher water table. New techniques for cultivation of wet-rice fields were learned and were accompanied by the development of a new liturgy suitable for wet-rice cultivation.[2]

177 Sedentariness and proximity to the town have provided opportunities for the development of new techniques and cultivation. The examples of Chinese and instruction of agriculturalists have helped raise the yields
[654] of Iban rice fields. The introduction of pack-sprayers and selective herbicides together with other aid contributed by the Agricultural Department have helped to strengthen the dependence of the Iban farmer upon the pasar.

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[1] Movements continued within the District, but these were involved primarily with the spread of Ibans along the banks of the large rivers or the ascent of their tributaries. Impeded mobility resulted from Government regulations and from the immigration of Chinese settlers.

[796] [2] Comparisons of rituals observed by Ibans practicing dry-rice cultivation and those practicing wet-rice cultivation reveal numerous differences.

175 At the beginning of this century, recognizing that they were here
361 to stay, Ibans in the Bawang Assan area constructed the first permanent
342 longhouse in memory, the rumah papan ("house of planks"). Previously,
178 house construction had been predicated upon the frequent movements of the shifting cultivators, and was of an impermanent nature. Sedentary settlements of Iban groups have been marked by the erection of substantial longhouses. Although the future of the longhouse domicile may be in question, Iban house-types, whether individual dwelling or attenuated structure, are permanent buildings.

654 A radically new concept of land tenure resulted from the establish-
423 ment of the Lands and Survey Department which claimed the right to re-
197 gister land and to issue permits and titles. In Iban polity land was held under usufruct rights by descendants of a pioneer who cleared it. Land disputes were settled within the longhouse community by appeal to senior members or others who were familiar with migrations and genealogies. Setting up a department to handle land matters represented an incursion of external authority into Iban society, the erosion of traditional polity, and the orientation of its members to the Opis Lan Ensabi as the locus of power in land matters.

177 The Second Rajah's encouragement of Chinese trade and immigration
657 helped to produce a situation he wanted to avoid, in which sociocultural change has taken place among the Ibans. The frequent contacts and long associations of Ibans with Chinese and Malays have led to social and

179 cultural exchanges from which all have emerged as borrowers. Shortly
657 after the settlement of Ibans in the District, the Rajah's policies encouraging the immigration of Chinese were implemented. Thousands of Foochow, Cantonese and Henghua settlers arrived in the state and began their spread up and down the banks of the major rivers of the Third Division. Although brought into the state to grow rice, the Chinese learned painfully and quickly that rice cannot be grown profitably by
177 hand and that greater gains lay in rubber and pepper. The more astute
434 Ibans were fast to follow the example of the Chinese, planting gardens and harvesting cash incomes from the new crops. The shift to rubber and pepper was a step of both economic and cultural importance. It led to a diversification of incomes from resources more dependable than collection
[178] of jungle products. Conservative Ibans saw the shift as one away from rice cultivation and potentially destructive of traditional values cf. p. 37).

439 Production of rubber and pepper involved an increasing number of
175 Ibans in the embryonic trade network which grew in Sarawak in the first decades of this century. Heretofore they had exchanged jungle products with Chinese and Malay traders. Rubber and pepper were more reliable products, and often more easily obtainable. Although the Ibans long had exchanged forest produce for such valuables as jars and brassware, the establishment of permanent settlements and more regular incomes from cash crops contributed to an acceleration of this trade.

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199 As cash became available to Ibans and other indigenes they had
167 the means for acquiring goods in the pasar. The development of a cheap public transportation system by water and road in the 1960's provided ways to and from the pasar. The sense of distance between longhouse and pasar was reduced as the travel time was shortened, and Ibans who long had been attracted to the pasar began to enter into its activities in increasing numbers. Some have made periodic visits to the pasar, others took up residence. Whereas there had been a reticence on the part of many Ibans to make their homes in the pasar, owing in part to the sense of distance from their fellows and in part to the closed economic system as they perceived it, over the past decade several thousand Ibans have moved from their longhouses to the town. The pioneering efforts of a few Ibans have led the way for many others.

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361 Exposure to other ethnic groups and acculturation have led to
621 changes in residence pattern and economic activities among the Ibans of
[342] this District. In the rural areas the longhouse domicile remains the most distinctive characteristic of Iban settlements, but social and physical fragmentation is increasing as more members of the longhouses spend less time in them, and in several hundred cases Ibans have erected
[178] permanent individual dwellings. It is important to note that if the longhouse community declines in favor of separate houses, the seat of the community's meetings and ceremonial activities, and area of socialization, viz., the ruai, will shift. Perhaps it is the other way around and the longhouse is diminishing in significance as less importance is attached to the ruai-centered activities.

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

000 to the rusi-centered activities.

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167 The long history of cooperative activities between Ibans and members of other groups has contributed to the movement of some of the former to the town. Encouraged by their abilities to relate to Malays as partners (udong) and Chinese as patrons (toukay), accepting values from both, and supported by the increased presence of members of their own group, Ibans have taken up various types of employment and quarters among other ethnic groups.

The growth and changes in the Sibu pasar have both affected and been effected by structural and cultural changes in the Iban population of the District. Meaningful employment has come to be defined in terms of cash returns. Relations with members of other groups have resulted in a sharpening of incipient class distinctions. Education and earning potentials have taken precedence over descent lines. And attractions and amenities of the pasar have drawn Ibans, some temporarily, others permanently, into the activities of Sibu.

Whether they move into Sibu or remain in rural areas, the lives of Ibans have been changed by the growth of the town and its population. For all of them, physically and culturally, it is now only a short distance from longhouse to pasar.

A DAYAK INVASION

Christmas and New Year at Sibu

175 Boxing Day passed off peacefully, the prevailing calm being broken
177 at intervals by the whoops and yells of boatloads of Dayaks, who seemed to arrive every few minutes. Everyone who was present will remember this as a Dayak Christmas, - for ten days the island was crowded with them, and the officers on whom fell the burden of organizing the aum had a lively time of it. It is a curious fact that the Dayak, a most independent and self-reliant gentleman in his own country, at once becomes as helpless as a child, if he thinks that there is any chance by this display of helplessness, to cause someone (preferably a European) to make a fuss of him. To listen to the hard-luck stories of most of the Dayaks made one think that they had never left their homes before, and that starvation was the least of the perils with which they were faced; it was not a little amusing to hear Dayaks whom one knew personally to be more than a match for even the shrewdest Chinese traders, complaining in pathetic tones that they were utterly lost in the turmoil of a great city like Sibu, and that unless they were looked after every minute of the day and kept well supplied with belanja, they would surely perish; and it was no less amusing after this confession, to see them go straight to the nearest gold or silversmith's shop and buy up a good proportion of the stock without

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

199 batting an eyelid! Oh well, Dayaks are not the only people who like a
175 try-on.

Dayaks are everywhere, in the streets, in the shops, on the wharves, on the padangs, and of course in the Government offices, where the cry of minta belanja, Tuan, rose like the wailing of a great multitude, and their
175 outstretched palms were thick as the spears of Senacherib. All of them
177 were in their smartest clothes, and weired and wonderful was the display
292 of Iban finery, ranging from the dirty white trousers and co-respondent shoes of the "civilized" Dayaks (great are the blessings of education), to the resplendent chawats and gorgeous woven jackets of the upriver people. Hats shewed a like diversity, the most popular being a red fez wrapped with a kind of cloth-of-gold in which were stuck artifical flowers; but there were also other varieties, notably the "donkey's breakfast," of which there were one or two fine examples, and a kind of Homburg of a poisonous green tint, worn in some cases athwartships, and not fore-and-aft. This later style was most effective, and was indeed only rivalled by a Wolseley helmet of about 1887 vintage, which acted as a sort extinguisher to a Dayak of venerable aspect, whose long grey hairs rather clashed with the martial aspect of his head-gear.

175 Ornaments included the usual bead necklaces, silver chains and
301 bangles, but the whole jaw of a honey-bear, embossed with gold and worn around the neck as a pendant, excited much favourable comment. Tiger-cat's teeth, too, were prominent, but earnings were not as good as might have been expected; it needed the Kayans to provide really good specimens of this form of decoration, and no Kayans had come down.